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EARLY CAREER OF GOVERNOR FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

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(Concluded.)

The colony of New York then had about 40,000 inhabitants. It differed in politics and in religion from its rival, Massachusetts, so that the loss of its provincial individuality by consolidation with Massachusetts under Andros, who broke its seal and substituted for it that of New England and took the records to Boston, was called by the Dutch an "abhorred and unmerited degradation." Yet some rejoiced at the change; and when Nicholson's letter informed Andros that the King's Italian wife had borne him a son, and revived the prospect of a Romanist successor, the royalists celebrated the "happy news" with extravagant joy and the "utmost tokens of wanton gladness," by bonfires in the streets of New York and a banquet in the City Hall, where the Dutch Mayor Van Cortlandt became so hilarious that he made to his loyalty a burnt offering of his hat and periwig, which had accidentally caught fire from a candle, waving the blazing victims over the banquet table on the point of his sword.

The Protestants of New York seem also to have rejoiced at the promised deliverance under the Anglican Andros from the former "Papist Governor" Dongan, who had worshipped on Sundays with a few Romanists in a small chamber in Fort James; and at

the prospect of having Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson as "deputy in the fort" who would, they hoped, defend and establish the true religion.

A short while after his arrival in New York, Nicholson had set about an examination of the city's fortifications, whose bad condition he set forth in a report of nineteen pages to the royal government. Fort James he found was "extraordinarily out of repair," but he soon had men at work putting it into good condition. The inhabitants supposed that under the new Protestant deputy "all images erected by Col. Thomas Dongan in the fort should be broken down and taken away." They were disappointed, however, and instead of this, Nicholson gave them great offence by "ordering the workmen to help the Romanist priest, John Smith, to remove the images indeed, but to a better room in the fort, and ordered to make all things for said Priest, according to his will, and perfectly, and to erect all things, as he ordered." In thus indulging the papists, Nicholson alienated the Protestants, who were the real makers of sentiment in New York; and the beginning of his unpopularity there, perhaps, dates from this time. Leisler contemptuously refers in a letter to the Bishop of Salisbury to "the inhumane and pernicious practices of Sir Edmund Andros, who substituted an instrument like himself, one Francis Nicholson, Lt. Governor in his absence."

Meanwhile matters in England were moving to a crisis. The recklessness of King James in his efforts to establish the Roman Catholic as the state religion had aroused the whole people of England to a sense of the danger impending over their liberties. When the little Prince of Wales, who would supplant his Protestant half-sisters, Mary and Anne, was only ten days old, a secret invitation from the Parliament had been sent to the Prince of Orange to come over to England. By and by rumors reached James of the Prince's preparations to come. At length convinced of his danger by the friendly admonitions of Louis XIV., James warned his subjects to be ready to defend their country, endeavored to conciliate them, made great military and naval preparations, and on the 16th of October, the very day on which the Prince of Orange took leave of the States of Holland at the

Hague, James wrote a circular letter to Andros and the other governors warning them "that a great and sudden invasion from Holland" was impending, and directs them "to take care that upon the approach of any fleet or foreign force, the militia of that our Plantation be in such readiness as to hinder any landing or invasion that may be intended within the same." While this letter was in transit the Prince landed at Torbay the 5th of November, his banner bearing the motto, "I will maintain the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of England." About midnight, December 11, James II., disguised, threw the great seal into the Thames, and followed his queen down the stream to France. The Stuart dynasty in England and America was ended.

The ship which carried the royal letter of October 16th giving information of the apprehended invasion did not reach Boston until the next January; but rumors had spread that James had fled to France and died; and that the Prince and Princess of Orange had been proclaimed sovereigns of England. But on the receipt of the letter Andros issued orders, the 10th of January, "requiring all persons to be vigilant upon the approach of any fleet or foreign force," and Nicholson accordingly ordered every county in New York to keep the militia trained and equipped, he personally caring for that at New York. While Nicholson was thus engaged in putting New York into an attitude of resistance to any foe of the King, William of Orange had already, on the 30th of December, assumed control of the British Government, and next day published a declaration that all civil officers "not being Papists" were to continue in their places. It marks the importance of the Colonies to find that before William was on the throne he had given attention to them. Difficulties were gathering fast about Captain Nicholson. There were rumors of great changes in England, but there was a lack of certain information and a total absence of any official instructions. The great Revolution of 1688 was an accomplished fact long before it was heard of in America. When reports did get abroad they reached Virginia first, thence they spread to Maryland and other Colonies. There were rumors among the people and more or less

believed by them long before authentic information reached the officials.

New York first learned of the event through Captain Andries Greverait who had been in Virginia. He came to New York in his ship early in February, 1689, and, calling on Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson at Fort James, told him that the news in Virginia was that the Prince of Orange was landed with an army at Torbay in England. Nicholson in a great passion replied: "Damme, what do you say?" When Greverait repeated the story and said the Prince was at Salisbury Plain, Nicholson hotly replied that "there was burying-place enough for him and his people with him . . . hath he not had an example in Monmouth? I cannot believe it; if it is so, the very prentice boys of London will drive him out again." He then forbade Captain Greverait to divulge the news to any one. But it was impossible to suppress such news.

About six or seven days later the rumor was put into more general circulation by Jacob Leisler, who had returned from a business trip to Maryland where he had heard the report. Nicholson, suspecting, perhaps, that Greverait had divulged the matter summoned him to his quarters and angered at his refusal to put his story into writing, "swore bitterly, threatening to run him through, being much altered in his countenance, snatching up a book (not knowing what it was) swore he would cut off the Captain's ears if he divulged the news." Captain Nicholson needed most of all at this juncture to communicate with Andros, and with him determine upon what course to pursue. There could be no valid doubt that the reports were true, for they were confirmed by many private letters opened by Nicholson's council, and Governor John Blackwell sent a letter by two messengers from Philadelphia to say that he had examined a sailor, Zachariah Whitepaine, who had left London about December 10, and that there was no mistake about the reports. But they were not official. Perhaps convinced of their truth himself, Nicholson nevertheless endeavored to suppress the rumors while he sent off expresses by land and water to the Governor-General at his camp in Maine for instructions. Meanwhile he

determined to abide by his commission from King James, and to allow no movement for any other interests. There was not ever among the Colonies a uniform course of action upon the unofficial announcement of the sovereign's death. The propriety of proceeding without express orders was open to question, but the absurdity of acts of government in the name and authority of a prince who was certainly, though unofficially, known to have been dead and for months, generally influenced the governors to proceed without express orders, which might be delayed six months after letters and papers had brought the news. The uncertainty in such a case as the present in New York was vastly greater. Two parties were quickly formed, the believers and the doubters of the reports from England; the adherents of James, the official and aristocratic circles, led by Nicholson; and the friends of William and Mary, the large majority of the citizens who held that the Revolution had overthrown the Stuarts not only in England, but also their representatives in America, and that, therefore, the sole authority had now reverted to the people. Captain Jacob Leisler was the chief supporter of this view. The lack of certain information from England led to a period of confusion and transition. In all the Colonies the right of local self-government had been violated by King James; in all, therefore, the report of the accession of William and Mary was hailed with joy. In Massachusetts the forces of revolution and secession had both been at work. When Nicholson's expresses reached Andros in Maine "at Fort Charles at Penaquid" after a fortnight's journey, the Governor-in-Chief went at once to Boston where he found "a general buzzing among the people, great with expectation of their old charter, or they knew not what." On the 4th of April John Winslow came from Nevis, West Indies, to Boston with confirmation of the accession of William and Mary, but absolutely refused to inform Andros, who remained in ignorance of the great change in England. The colonists were agitated, and on the 18th of April there was "a sudden irruption of the people from all parts," and Andros, about to embark on the *Rose* frigate for New York, was seized and imprisoned. A more unjustifiable rebellion of colonists, who professed allegiance to their mother country, never happened,

remarks Brodhead. Yet it has been praised as patriotism by many writers of American history. "Again," says Palfrey, "Englishmen were free and self-governed in New England." The point of view makes a difference. There would have been no revolution in Massachusetts had William's orders of January 12th not been nullified by the intrigue of Cotton Mather and Phipps, who saw to it that they never reached Andros. Had Andros embarked in the *Rose* frigate, he would probably have proceeded to New York and there maintained his authority. But now the governor-in-chief of the "Territory and Dominion of New England" was in custody. Under James' commission Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson was to succeed Andros only in case of his death or absence from the territory; but it is doubtful whether a strict construction of the commission authorized Nicholson under the existing circumstances to assume the government of the Dominion. It was certain though that Nicholson or no one was, next to Andros, the only legal representative of the Crown in the Dominion. But the Bostonians, whose object was to break that very dominion into its old pieces, disregarded legalities. Massachusetts did not like union unless she could control that union, as she had done for years after the old Colonial Confederacy of 1643. It was galling to her to be subject to the authority of a governor-general, and her remedy was secession. Although but a subordinate English Colony, part of a consolidated union for the general good, when that union became irksome and that good less immediate, she determined to revolt from the central control; and so Massachusetts seceded from the union. And what Massachusetts did the other members of the union under Andros and Nicholson followed. Rhode Island resumed her old government. The charter oak gave up its treasure after eighteen months of hiding, and Robert Treat was again governor of Connecticut. Virginia's governor being in England, the Council with its president, Nathaniel Bacon, a popular favorite, proclaimed William and Mary at Jamestown. South Carolina chose Seth Sothel, governor, but the old form of government continued in Pennsylvania until November in the name of James II. Col. John Coode headed a Protestant party in Maryland, April, 1689, and

overthrew the proprietary government before Lord Baltimore's instructions to proclaim William and Mary reached Annapolis.

The spring of 1689 was a period of angry crimination, of hot words, and of rash acts. If the people's right to election was fiercely contested, it was ably and zealously defended. The determined spirit of the popular party was illustrated in a significant declaration of Governor Treat of Connecticut; who replied to a challenge of the validity of his authority "that the people had put him in, and he had ventured all he had above his shoulders on this account, and therefore he would maintain it."

Of the events which now pressed on in New York, Captain Leisler, leader of the democrats, must be considered the chief mover, says Brodhead. The historian of New York then proceeds to characterize Leisler, a German, born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, who "had first come to New Netherlands in 1660, as a soldier of the Dutch West India Company. For nearly thirty years he had lived in New York; where he had grown to be a prosperous merchant and importer of liquors. By marriage he had become connected with both Bayard, in whose command he was one of the five captains of train-bands, and Van Cortlandt; but he had been involved with them, and others whom he felt to be his superiors in education and social condition. A rankling envy of these New York gentlemen moved Leisler, as it always moves those brutal natures who count elbows and impudence better than refinement. Leisler was a fair sample of this class." "His nature was coarse and vulgar; his mind vigorous, but narrow; his temper hot, stubborn, and vindictive; his prejudices ungovernable; his vanity inordinate; his education very defective; his deportment presumptuous and overbearing. His personal integrity was unquestionable, as were his active benevolence towards poor Protestants and his blazing zeal against Popery. In Westchester County, his asylum for persecuted Huguenots who fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he named New Rochelle after the French city from which many of the Huguenots fled. Wanting judgment and discretion, but supercharged with unscrupulous boldness and low cunning, Leisler had many of the characteristics of a successful demagogue, but few of

the qualifications of a statesman. His fiery anti-popery zeal was only matched by his enthusiasm for William and Mary. Hoffman calls him the first really republican ruler who ever attained to power in America ; the only political martyr that ever stained the soil of New York with his blood."

He had to meet an active, powerful, and virulent party, who hurled at him abuse and defiance. The same historian describes the leader of the aristocrats. "Nicholson was a soldier and a martinet ; quick and irascible, a good subordinate, but hardly equal to responsible command ; naturally a sycophant ; professing to be a Protestant English Episcopalian, yet not troubled by inconvenient sectarian scruples ; cheerfully kneeling among a Roman Catholic crowd while the popish mass was celebrated in the tent of King James, in his camp on Hounslow Heath, in the summer of 1686. This outward conformity to a ritual which no gentleman accidentally present could refuse to accord, did not prove Nicholson to be a Roman Catholic. But it showed him to be a courtly English Episcopalian ; and his timely genuflexion told against him now, when the most trivial circumstances were distorted by popular credulity." Another writer regards Nicholson as a straightforward English official, obeying orders to the letter ; and a devout and consistent Episcopalian who never omitted the public Sunday devotions. The three Protestant Councillors who governed New York with Nicholson were Frederick Phillipse, with fourteen years' experience in the office, the richest and dullest man in New York ; Stephen Van Cortlandt, the mayor, an aristocratic conservative ; and Nicholas Bayard, nephew of Stuyvesant, the rich and experienced colonel of the five companies of train-bands. These three gentlemen were members of the Dutch Reformed Church, of which Bayard and Van Cortlandt, as well as Leisler, were Deacons or Ruling Elders.

On March 2, after Nicholson had forwarded to Andros the information as to the Prince's invasion, he began to take measures of precaution against any popular disturbance in his own province. Mathew Plowman, the Roman Catholic collector of the port, appointed by James, had been keeping the taxes and public money at his lodgings in a private house some distance from the fort.

It being thought unsafe to leave so large a sum of money, about £1200, thus exposed, Plowman was ordered to bring all the money in his hands into Fort James "there to be locked up in a strong chest and sealed by him for the better securing off the same till further order from his Excellency." This simple precautionary measure was the immediate occasion of a widespread terror among the more illiterate classes. Might not the Lieutenant-Governor be a secret Roman Catholic, a tool of James II.? It was recalled that he had kneeled at Mass at Hounslow Heath three years before. The Indians were coming under French Catholic instigation; a French fleet hovered along the coast. There was unrest and suspicion. Refusing to act upon the reports of the Revolution in England which had overturned his king's dynasty, Nicholson was soon startled from his hesitation by surprising news from within his own domain, and given no room to doubt that the dominion of James had been overthrown by the Boston revolt of April 18. On the 26th of April Ensign Veasey of Braintree brought to the Lieutenant-Governor a copy of Cotton Mather's "Declaration off the Gentlemen, merchants, and inhabitants of Boston and the country adjacent," setting forth the reasons for their seizing Governor-General Andros, "the Fortt, the Castel and the Frigatt."

The Lieutenant-Governor was unprepared for such a juncture; and because he did not either usurp the chief authority or declare for William and Mary on the grounds of the reports which were current, he has been blamed for lack of vigor as a "martinet . . . hardly equal to responsible command." He was wise enough, however, not to exchange the certainty of his plain commission from James, for the reported authority of William. He convened his Council; and in the absence of orders from Andros or other superior, surprised and perplexed at the situation, having with him only three of the 39 Councillors, it was determined to advise with other leading men as to what course to pursue. Accordingly the Aldermen and Common Council were summoned. The next day, Saturday, the disturbance among the people was heightened by rumors that France was at war with England and Holland, and hostilities from French and Indians might be expected. It

was therefore determined to call not only the Aldermen and Common Council, but also the chief military officers, including Captain Jacob Leisler, to meet Nicholson and his Council that afternoon in the Town-hall. At this meeting some speaking in favor of the Revolution, Nicholson pulled from his pocket his commission from King James and threw it on the table "swearing with big oaths and protestations that he would live and die by the same." But the people avowed their fear of attack from some unseen foe. Most of the regulars had gone with Andros to Maine, and the few soldiers in the fort were not enough to inspire confidence, and many of them were old and infirm; so to quiet the fears of the people, and allay any jealousies about the fort cannon being turned on the city and "to show our willingness to defend the fort, City and Government against any common enemy Nicholson assented to the proposal that some of the city militia keep guard in Fort James, and that the city be forthwith fortified." Captain Leisler and others were ordered to view the places needing to be fortified, and to report to the General Meeting by 9 o'clock the next Monday.

Having taken these steps for immediate security Nicholson wrote the chief civil and military officers of all the counties that "having received the surprising news that the Inhabitants of Boston have set up a government for themselves, and also of rumours of war from abroad," they should meet him at New York to advise what should be done. Letters were also sent to eight members of the Council who were nearest to come with all expedition to Nicholson's help as they were "resolved to continue in their station till further order from England." All was now activity. The King's County officers came in on Monday and promised to "do all their endeavours to defend the country, to sett out a centry at Couny Island to keep a continual watch to looke out at sea, and if above 2 ships comes together then to send an express to the Governor." Leisler and the other officers made their report on the fortifications, and Nicholson proposed that the current revenue be appropriated for military defence. The Lieutenant-Governor and his Council wrote on May 1, to Andros offering their condolences, but asking the return of that year's

records, the want of which occasioned complaints and almost the only cause of trouble among a people inclined to peace and loyalty. To the Boston leaders a remonstrance was sent, and a request that they restore Andros or allow him to come to New York. Nothing came of the summoning the absent Councillors; but the counties gave assurances of loyalty and aid. Matters went well for a week or so, until money made trouble. On the Monday Captain Leisler had reported on the state of the defences and Nicholson had proposed the appropriation therefor of the revenues of the fort, one of Leisler's vessels entered the harbor with a cargo of wine, the duty on which amounted to £100. As the Collector Plowman was a Romanist, and according to the reports from England therefore disqualified to hold office, Leisler nevertheless entered his cargo in the custom-house, and engaged to pay the duty to such as should be legally qualified to receive it. The party of Nicholson and the Council which delayed action until official information of the change in government should come, interpreted this to mean an utter refusal to pay. When a little later, May 6, a committee was appointed to receive and apply the revenue to the defences, Leisler was chief in objecting to the plan; and to others imitating his example did not pay their custom duties, denying their legality, there was soon a scarcity of money. Leisler perhaps had no great affection for Andros from whom he had once suffered imprisonment on a matter of principle, and now he finds himself in opposition to the deputy Nicholson; yet he continued in the General Council, though asserting that it derived its powers from the new sovereign, rather than, as Nicholson did, from the commission of James. But the seeds of revolt had already been blown from Boston to the eastern end of Long Island. Suffolk County displaced her civil and military officers and chose others. So did Queens and Westchester. Instigated by Leisler, as it was alleged, delegates were sent to New York to "demand the Fort to be delivered into the hands of such persons as the country shall choose." On the 9th of May the whole Island was in an uproar, and the militia returned from Dongan's expedition to Albany met in arms at Jamaica, 14 miles from New York; and sent their leaders to

Nicholson clamoring for their pay. Money raised in New York satisfied them. Then the City militia hearing this, came before the town-hall in a great uproar while the General Council was meeting, and asked for money. But Nicholson satisfied their demands also and the uproar quieted. Rumors of uprisings threatened on Long Island were heard, and a letter, dated the 11th, was sent to the counties inviting them to send two or three representatives each to the Common Council. But none ever came.

On the 15th of May Nicholson and his Council despatched Ensign John Riggs in the *Beaver*, John Corbett, Captain, with letters to London, giving the Government a full account of their difficulties, and of the fatal connection of New York with Boston, and giving assurance that they would preserve the peace and security at New York till orders should come from England, which they prayed might be hastened with all speed. With the bearer of these letters went the Jesuit John Smith, Dongan's chaplain at Fort James. But Tunis, the Episcopal chaplain there, lacking the bishop's orders, continued to read his authorized prayers for the exiled Prince of Wales and that the dethroned King James might be victorious over his enemies. Although Andros in prison could not write to his deputy he had sent verbal instructions by George Wedderborne who reached New York May 18th, that Nicholson should send to Boston to demand his release; should carefully conceal his imprisonment from the Indians, and should send a sloop to Pemaquid. Nicholson made an attempt to carry out these instructions. He ordered Van Cortlandt to repair the King's bark should occasion be to use her; but he found no one willing to go to Boston to demand the release of Andros, "seeing the uproar in all parts of the Government, and therefore did think it most safe to forbear acting till they see the minds of the people better satisfied and quieted." The seeds of opposition were evidently working in Leisler's mind. Brodhead attributes to him the Long Island uprising of the 8th and 9th of May; on the 20th, when it was decided to reduce the size of the general meeting at the town-hall, he was one of those omitted, though he was the oldest and most popular officer.

Some differences arising among the commanders as to the location of the fortifications which were being built, the people became dissatisfied, and on May 21, Joost Stoll, an ensign in Leisler's Company, and fourteen others, presented to Colonel Bayard an unsigned and ill-penned petition demanding that all papists be disarmed. Col. Bayard laid the paper before the General Meeting. After considering and returning the petition through Captain Leisler and Captain Lodwyck, efforts were made to quiet the people through Van Cortlandt, but to little purpose.

But the delay in accepting the reports from England and acknowledging William and Mary, made the people impatient. There were wild rumors, that Staten Island was full of roaming papists, who would burn New York; that discharged Irish soldiers were coming from Boston to hold Fort James; and that the brigantine fitting out was for some warlike design in the interest of James. No explanation would satisfy the populace; it was useless to remind them how few papists there were in New York; that only some Irish soldiers had come from Boston, making, with the old cripples, 22 in the citadel; that two papist officers had been suspended and would leave for Virginia.

The preponderating Protestantism in New York was in no danger from the sparse Roman Catholic population, yet the fear of them was made the excuse for a revolution. The example of Massachusetts in revolting against Andros and the government set up by King James, had no doubt some influence. But the leading motive was devotion to a Dutch prince whose ancestors had restrained the Spaniards and who had delivered England from popery and tyranny, although known to hold the high Tory view that the inhabitants of the Colony were a conquered people without claim to the rights and privileges of Englishmen in England, but bound to the Prince's will and such laws as he should choose.

Yet there was no suggestion of misgovernment against Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson and his Councillors; but the Dutch were so eager for their Dutch Prince that although the Councillors were of the Dutch Reformed Church and Nicholson of the Church of England, yet because they were appointed by King

James, their sincerity was doubted and their authority denied. Andros was in prison; and the apparent slowness of the Lieutenant-Governor to declare for William was exasperating. Could he be meditating refusal or a popish plot? Trifles were now momentous. A trifle and a quick temper brought the crisis.

On the 30th of May when Nicholson was absent from Fort James, and the part of the militia of the city who had been permitted to enter, were under the command of Lieutenant Henry Cuyler, a Dutchman past fifty years of age, "whose weakness in the English language (was) owned by himself and who (was) of that timorous temper that he often is troubled in his mind with most strange imaginations," some friction was occasioned with the regulars in the garrison. Lt. Cuyler, without orders from the Lieutenant-Governor, directed his servant, young Corporal Hendrick Jacobson, to place a militiaman as sentinel at the sally port. This order was challenged and the sentinel refused by the sergeant of the regulars.

About 10 or 11 o'clock that night Nicholson returned to the fort and was informed of the militia officer's assumption of authority. Responding to the messenger sent for him, Cuyler, accompanied by Corporal Jacobson, who could speak English better than he, went up to headquarters where the Lieutenant-Governor was partially undressed, who in a rage demanded of Cuyler, "Who is commander in the fort, you or I?" Cuyler excused his action by pleading that he was under Captain De Peyster's orders. In a passion Nicholson replied, "I rather would see the Town on fire than to be commanded by you." Hearing these high words the soldiers of the fort were drawn up under the window; Cuyler calling for his stalwart Corporal to come in to interpret for him, Jacobson entered the room while Nicholson was stooping over unlacing his stockings. When he looked up and saw a tall, strong man with his sword in hand over his left arm, Nicholson rose up in a passion and said to the Corporal, "You Rascall what doe yow here? Get yow gon, or I will Pistoll yow," and taking "downe a Pistoll which hung by the wall," put it at the Corporal's breast, and drove him from the room. He then told Cuyler that "there was so many rogues in

the Town that he was not sure of his life nor to walk the streets and that before it would goe longer after this manner he would sett the towu in fyre."

The report of the affair spread like wild fire; and "bred such a noise and jealousy all that night, and especially next morning through the Towne" with the usual exaggeration, that there was great excitement.

It was reported and generally believed that Nicholson had threatened to burn New York, and it was added that he meant to massacre all the Dutch who should come to worship next Sunday in the Dutch church in the fort. The obscurity of the rumor seemed to give it greater currency, and no contradiction would satisfy the people. They would have it that Nicholson and his Councillors were all papists; and would make the next Sunday a Dutch Saint Bartholomew's. Friday the last of May was a day of commotion. To allay the excitement Nicholson went to the town-hall and explained to the General Convention that being a sworn royal officer, and without official notification of a change of sovereigns, his only course was to hold the province in peace until orders should come from the actual sovereign of England; and that the accounts of his interview with Lieutenant Cuyler the previous night were false. But when Cuyler maintained the truth of his story, Nicholson exclaimed, "Go fetch your Commission; I discharge you from being Lieutenant any more." Angered at this, Cuyler and others retired; the drums were soon beat, and groups of the trained bands appeared in arms. Leisler's Company mustered tumultuously before the door of his house, and threatened to shoot him if he did not take the lead. Leisler was not surprised at this, it is said, but was the contriver of the plot, because just then a vessel with a cargo of wine for him was in the roads, and he wished to avoid paying duty thereon. Declining, however, the demand of his soldiers, he left the command of them to his sergeant Joost Stoll, a dram-seller, who quickly led the men to Fort James, shouting "we are sold, betrayed, and to be murdered; it is time to look out for ourselves." Cuyler admitted them to the fort; and Leisler joined them and took possession. But the keys to the fort and its chest were kept

with Nicholson at the City Hall. A consultation was at once held how they should obtain the keys. The tumultuous multitude demanded them. So Sergeant William Churchill with twenty armed men was sent to demand them of Nicholson, who had gone to supper at the residence of Frederick Phillipse. "With much insolence this impertinent, impudent fellow rushed into the room where the Lieutenant Governor was," and demanded the keys of him. He declined to yield them; and repaired to the City hall; there Captain Lodwyck forced him to deliver them, and seized the chest in his chamber containing £773 of government money. Leisler, late at night published as Colonel, drafted a Declaration referring to Dongan's popish government, charging Nicholson with plotting to set the city on fire, and asserting his determination to hold the fort until superseded by orders from London.

Next day, June 1, Mayor Van Cortlandt and the Councillors, mixed freely with the people, and nearly succeeded in quieting their suspicions of Nicholson. But Leisler denounced them all as rogues and papists and the Councillors were accused of popish plots. It was a black Saturday in New York. Thus ended in New York, Nicholson's authority, the Dominion of New England and the Stuart government.

One historian attributes Nicholson's course to weakness, calls him a regular parade soldier, who, without the directing mind of Andros, shrank into insignificance, when he might have saved New York and her Dutch king much trouble. But he and his Councillors, provincial gentlemen wishing to avoid antagonism, and lacking the energy and skill to cope with the occasion, by mere imbecility lost their opportunity. If he had disregarded official forms and acting upon the announcement in the London Gazette of William and Mary's accession and proclaimed them in New York all might have been well. Excluded from the fort and deprived of the government funds, Nicholson kept up a show of his authority with headquarters at the residence of Councillor Phillipse, determined as an official bound by red tape to await instructions from his chief, and not to act without them. Subordinate to the imprisoned Andros, and hampered, perhaps, by his conservative Councillors, though he knew unofficially that

William and Mary had been proclaimed in Boston and in England, Nicholson did not dare to take the bold steps which the unfettered Leisler trod. On the contrary, leaving Leisler in Fort James, and deputing Phillipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard to preserve the peace during his absence, and until His Majesty's pleasure should be known, he determined to go to England himself to render an account of the present deplorable state of affairs in New York. Leisler had circulated reports that Nicholson was a papist and traitor who intended to secure the government for the late King James; and a sloop from Barbadoes arriving near Coney Island on the Monday morning following the anticipated St. Bartholomew's Day, Leisler gave the alarm from Fort James, and spread a rumor that French ships were inside Sandy Hook. Nicholson and his three Councillors remained all day in the west room of the Phillipse mansion, powerless figure-heads of government without soldiers or fort, while Leisler detained and opened their despatches.

That week Nicholson determined to go to England, in Dongan's brigantine, and departed very privately to the Netherlands about twenty miles off to embark. Failing in this he tried to sail from New York; but feeling ran so high that he was refused passage on the three ships which carried papers from Leisler to Dutch merchants in London who were to deliver them to the King.

Dongan had gone to sea, but the hard weather and seasickness had caused him to return "chusing rather to die on shoare than at sea."

And his brigantine lying in the harbor, Nicholson bought one-third interest in her, loaded 25 tons of logwood and finally on Monday, June 24th, 1689, sailed from New York for Madeira. He reached London in August, having been in America for nearly three years. Two days before he sailed Leisler had proclaimed William and Mary, and then circulated the report that "Nicholson, that popish dogg was turned a privateer and would never show his face in England." His flight, retreat, or simple departure, seemed premature, for John Riggs having reached London, on July 16th, with Nicholson's letter of May 15th, and having on July 22, told the Plantation Committee what he had

seen in Boston, the Privy Council and also the King, not knowing of course that even then Nicholson was on his voyage home, wrote on July 30, a letter to our "Trusty and well-beloved Francis Nicholson, Esqr., our Lieut.-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of our Province of New York in America, and in his absence, to such as for the time being take Care for Preserving the Peace and administering the Lawes in our said Province of New York in America"; directing Nicholson to proclaim William and Mary, and to take on himself the government of New York.

John Riggs was ordered to return to New York with this letter, but before he set out, August 30, Nicholson had arrived in England. Yet the letter was not delivered to him, for it was supposed that it would accomplish its purpose by falling into the hands of Phillipse, Bayard and Van Cortlandt; and Riggs proceeded to New York, arriving December 9. When however Nicholson was accorded a personal interview with the king, and informed the Plantation Committee of the actual condition of New York, the king was moved to send forthwith a governor to New York in a warship, with two new foot companies; and also presents for the Five Nations to hold them against the French.

Nicholson desired the appointment as Governor of New York and urged his claim with such force that he seemed likely to succeed. It was reported in New England that he had succeeded. The proud Duke of Bolton used his powerful influence for him, strongly urging his appointment. The Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to him, "As to Captain Nicholson, his Majesty is undecided how he shall dispose of the government; but however he succeeds in this I doubt not he will find the benefit of your recommendation." The Duke of Bolton replied: "You will do me a great kindness to assist Captain Nicholson."

He was now 34 years old, a bachelor, apparently not without means, and not unknown at Court, when he sought preferment.

Jacob Leisler, maintaining that his actions had been dictated by loyalty to the king, to the Protestant faith and to his Country, self-opinionated no longer, broken in spirit, overcome by grief, and humbling himself before God, having been spit upon, robbed of wig, sword, and sash, stripped, abused, manacled, was taken

from an underground hole of stench and filth, and on Saturday, May 16, 1691, hanged.

Nicholson continued to seek the post of governor of New York, but though he had "not interest to carry it" yet his three years' trial in the Territory and Dominion of New England amid political unrest and religious bitterness, was not regarded as failure, for on November 14, 1689, when King William approved Col. Henry Slaughter's Commission as Governor of New York, he also gave approval to Nicholson's administration there, by appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia under Lord Howard of Effingham. His salary was to be £500 until he reached his province; then it would be £1000 during the governor's absence. The following winter awaiting orders to sail for America, Captain Nicholson was assigned to Colonel William Beveridge's regiment of foot.

Captain Nicholson seems to have been pleased with this promotion, and was even willing, says Hutchinson, to vaunt himself before his recent colonial friends by writing to the Massachusetts authorities, and then with an air of boasting concludes his letter: "From him who has the honor to be their Majesties lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of the Colony of Virginia, F. Nicholson."

After he had reached Virginia he was railed upon by the governor of Massachusetts, Sir William Phips, who declared that Nicholson was an ill man who had never done a good action in all his life, was unknown to the king, and only received his appointment through the recommendation of some courtier, there being some that were about their Majesties, who for money got in many that were not for the king's interest.

Nicholson himself once declared that it was the universal opinion in New England that any thing could be procured at Whitehall for money.

The last of the Stuart governors of Virginia, Lord Howard of Effingham, deserted his Colony and remained in England under the plea of ill-health, when the Revolution came. It seems strange that such a man as Lord Howard should have been re-

tained in office after the Revolution, corrupt and incompetent as he was, a Papist, and a supporter of the worst features of the Stuart regime. The evil was modified indeed by reducing the Governor's salary one-half, and assigning the actual administration of his province to Nicholson as his deputy; while the new instructions to the Governor limited his power of suspending councillors and clearly and fully recognized the right of taxation as vested in the Assembly. Certain taxes were to be recommended, the Assembly was to be persuaded to pass an act by which the governor and council should be allowed in cases of emergency to raise money for government, but such money was to be accounted for at the next Assembly. It would be difficult to imagine, says Doyle, a clearer acknowledgment of those rights for which Virginia did battle eighty years later. But the Virginians who had given Colonel Ludwell 250 pounds for carrying to England a complaint against Lord Howard were indignant at seeing Effingham still retained in the office of governor, and believed that Nicholson would become his tool. In fact the colony was ready for revolt. The glorious Revolution seemed as yet productive of no amendment in the colonial administration. The government continued for the time being in the hands of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Sr. of York County, president of the Council, a man of seventy years; for although Nicholson was appointed lieutenant-governor in November, 1689, he did not arrive at James Town until May, 1690.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN
WASHINGTON.JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

[The reading of this paper, in 1865, was accompanied by the presentation of a portfolio of designs (mostly very inferior) by various persons, for the public buildings at Washington.]

In 1803, my father, dead since 1821, of whom it may be permitted to me, after so long an interval, to speak as a person of very extraordinary accomplishments in literature, science and art, as well as a thoroughly educated architect and engineer,—was called by Mr. Jefferson to take charge of the further prosecution of the public buildings at Washington. He had come from England in 1796, was occupied professionally in many parts of the country, and some years elapsed before he could give his time, exclusively, to his duties in Washington. Workmen in those days had to be taught how to work; and skilled labor had often to be imported from abroad. This was altogether the case in all matters connected with decorative art, and my father's letter-books are filled with correspondence recounting his difficulties and explaining his methods of overcoming them. Among other letters, which I have recently looked at, none are more interesting than those addressed to a Signor Mazzei of Pisa, through whose assistance sculptors were obtained from Italy. In a letter, dated May 29th, 1806, my father writes to Mr. Mazzei what seems sufficiently interesting in this connection to be inserted here.

After certain statements in regard to Messrs. Andrei and Franzoni, two Italians, who had been sent to Washington by Signor Mazzei, the letter goes on:

“The President of the United States, no doubt, informs you in the course of his correspondence of the general direction which

knowledge, commerce, manners and political opinions are taking in this country. The revolution in the sentiments of the great mass of our citizens, which placed him at the head of our government, has been favorable to the prosperity of the country, assuring us of peace, while honorable peace can be maintained, and of that freedom of acting and speaking which develops and encourages talent and superior genius in whatever rank they may exist. Inconveniences grow out of the best measures; and while the individuals of which communities consist are imperfect, the conduct of communities themselves will be liable to partake of imperfection. Thus, the liberal mind and enlarged views of our President (Mr. Jefferson) in respect to our metropolis and the encouragement of art among us, find opposition in the excellent nature of our political institutions.

"The establishment of the Federal City was one of the offsprings of that revolutionary enthusiasm which elevated the American mind far above the aera in the life of our nation, then present. It has been said that the idea of creating a new city—better arranged in its local distribution of houses and streets—more magnificent in its public buildings, and superior in the advantages of its site to any other in the world, was the favorite folly of General Washington. Its existence at last was due to a compromise of interests between the Eastern and Western States. After the law had established that there should be a city, General Washington seems to have thought that everything had been done towards making it. He himself built two indifferent houses in it. Everything else was badly planned and conducted. L'Enfant's plan has in its contrivance everything that could prevent the growth of the city. The distribution of the public buildings over a space five miles in length and three in breadth prevents the possibility of concentration. The proprietors of the soil, on which the town is to be spread, are rivals and enemies and each opposes every project which appears more advantageous to his neighbor than to himself. Speculators, of all degrees of honesty and of desperation, made a game of hazard of the scheme. The site itself is upon a river noble in its extent and depth of water below the city, but above it of difficult navigation and running through a

country comparatively barren in the materials of commerce—agricultural produce. On the map the Potomac appears a mighty river, but in fact it is with the exception of the Shenandoah and a few other branches the drain of a mountainous and barren country. But the principal disadvantage under which the city labors is the preoccupation of its commerce by Baltimore and Alexandria and Georgetown. The latter cities are in truth the factories of Philadelphia, Baltimore and Norfolk. The principal part of near a million of dollars disbursed in the Federal City passes through Alexandria and Georgetown to our large seaports. These two towns have accordingly prospered and increased, and may be compared to a pair of fat twins who are suckled by a consumptive mother. The plans of the public buildings were obtained by public advertisement, offering a reward for that most approved by General Washington. General Washington knew how to give liberty to his country but was wholly ignorant of art. It is therefore not to be wondered, that the design of a physician, who was very ignorant of architecture was adopted for the Capitol and of a carpenter for the President's house. The latter is not even original, but a mutilated copy of a badly designed building near Dublin. If these buildings are badly designed, they are still more indifferently executed. One wing of the Capitol was finished in 1800, when Congress removed hither. The French proverb, "The shortest follies are the best," ought then to have been remembered by the national legislature; and indeed the Legislature never would have been removed to Washington had not a hope of gaining Southern votes for the re-election of Mr. Adams prevailed over the aversion of the Federal Party, generally, to remove the seat of government from a large and convenient town to an anomalous kind of settlement, neither city, town nor village.

"The present President, whose talents and patriotism you know too well to render it necessary for me to say anything to you on his character, has been the only real patron of the city. He has caused excellent roads to be made between the public buildings, and has lent his influence and example to every measure that could promote its growth and prosperity. But it is, I fear, beyond

the power of his or any other other administration to *force* a city on a spot, all the advantages of which have been rendered of no avail by the prior establishments, which, with capital already accumulated, wharves and warehouses already built, markets already opened, and commercial connections, domestic and foreign, already made, are its rivals."

In the above extract reference is made to the excellent roads which Mr. Jefferson had caused to be constructed between the public buildings. My own recollection goes back to some of these—more particularly the Pennsylvania Avenue, or as it was then called *par excellence*, "the avenue." The western side of the hill on which the Capitol stands, now adorned with shady walks and shrubs of all kinds, was then clothed with forest trees, and rude paths wound up it, washed into gullies by the heavy rains of summer. From the foot of this, the avenue stretched off towards the President's house. In the centre was a gravelled road, with a deep ditch on each side, separating it from gravelled footways which ran between rows of Lombardy poplars; and beyond these again, were pavements wherever there were buildings—occupying the place of the present pavements of the avenue. All this was in 1812. When a visit was to be paid in a carriage, the vehicle was driven across the ditch separating the road from the footways at the crossing of an intersecting street, and trespassed upon the space intended for pavement in front of the particular mansion, leaving the foot passengers to get along as best they might. I well remember, on one occasion, when returning from school with a boy's slouch hat pushed down on my ears, suddenly finding myself with a large dapple grey horse on each side of me, and making a rapid exit under the belly of the near one, rushing home, then close by, without looking behind me—terribly frightened, and not much calmed by a summons to the parlor, where I was met, as I entered, by Mrs. Madison, who gave me a hearty shaking, exclaiming as she did so—"You terrible boy—my heart is in my mouth yet—you have scared me almost to death,"—and then I was kissed and cuddled and asked if I was hurt, and generally made much of after the fashion usual on such occasions.

It seems that the President's carriage with four spanking greys was driving up to my mother's door with Mrs. Madison, to pay a morning visit, when I was flanked so unceremoniously in the way I have described.

In summer the old avenue was fair travelling. In winter it was bad enough. In winter and summer, however, it was better than the present vast expanse of rubble stone pavement—for the dimensions of the carriage way were contracted, and the Lombardy poplars,—poor shade trees as they were,—afforded a relief to the glare of the broad, unbroken highway.

Among the numerous papers which fell into my father's hands were those contained in the portfolio now presented to the Society. They were regarded as rubbish at the time; and I well remember, as a child, the amusement they afforded to those to whom they were, then, occasionally exhibited. They have been great travellers since. Sometimes in Washington—sometimes in Baltimore—sometimes in Pittsburgh—as far South even as New Orleans—they have been preserved,

pes tot varios casus per tot discrimina rerum.

It is hoped, now, that they have, at last, found a resting place.

The physician mentioned in the letter to Signor Mazzei, was Dr. William Thornton, afterwards superintendent of the Patent Office, whose boast was that his architectural education was completed in two weeks of study in the Philadelphia library. He was a man of genius and parts—of considerable eccentricity, and irritable and impatient with regard to his plan. Wholly ignorant as may be supposed of construction, and inexperienced in the combination and arrangements of the parts of a vast edifice into an harmonious whole, long before my father had any connection with the work, it had been found necessary to invoke the assistance of better qualified persons. The most prominent of these were two Englishmen—Hallet and Hatfield, who, at different times, aided Dr. Thornton—or rather warred with him while connected with the Capitol. They were both men of taste and ability, and Hatfield, of whom I have, myself, a dim recollection, is described as

a person of great skill as an architect and a man of great worth and amiability. Dr. Thornton tolerated neither; and as the successful competitor to whom General Washington had awarded the prize, he had a prestige and influence during the life-time of the latter and for some years after his death, which made him a paramount authority, his ignorance of practical architecture notwithstanding. Hallet and Hatfield were both driven by him from the field—but their names ought not to be forgotten when the story of the design of the Capitol ever comes into discussion.

As an illustration of the want of adaptation of the original design to purposes of utility, I might mention what I myself recollect of the staircase of the north wing, which occupied an oval space in the centre of the building and extending upward to the roof. Its exact dimensions I cannot state. I only recollect that to my youthful eye they seemed enormous. They were certainly very large. In the east and west steps ascended to perhaps half the height to be overcome, where they met face to face on a landing, from which opposite flights of steps running up to the north and south gained a narrow corridor that ran around the oval I have referred to, and from which opened doors that gave access to other portions of the building.* The space occupied by a portion of this staircase may still be recognized in the circular colonnade between the central hall of the building and the vestibule of the former Senate chamber, now the Supreme Court room. The colonnade it will be remembered by those familiar with the Capitol is supported on an arcade below, and the columns whose capitals are formed of the leaves and flowers of the tobacco plant, and the columns on the vestibule below whose shafts are formed of the stalks while the ears of the Indian corn form the capitals are the first attempts towards an American nationality in architecture apart from the monopoly in art established by the classic structures of Greece and Rome, the giant masses of Egypt and the grand yet almost fairy edifices of the Gothic and mediæval age. These attempts were not made how-

*The effect of the arrangement here described was wholly inferior to what the space occupied demanded, and illustrated but one thing, which was how much ignorance could promote inconvenience.

ever by Dr. Thornton or Hallet or Hatfield. They were after their day—and Mr. Walter in the extension of the Capitol has shown how various the use that may be made of the idea.

It was, in all probability, the want of skilled intelligence that led to the appointment of my father in 1803, to go on with the public buildings. Of a different temper from the gentlemen just named, he maintained his ground in spite of Dr. Thornton—pulled down, altered, amended, rebuilt, strengthened and made permanent the sorry structure that he found. When Dr. Thornton disappeared in this connection, and in 1814, when the Capitol was burned by the British, it was, at all events a creditable structure—so far, at least, as to be convenient, habitable, and decorated with taste and judgment, infinitely better than anything that could have been produced from the best of the designs now before the Society.

That the story may be told to the end, and some continuous record of the Capitol brought down to the present day, it may be added that when it was determined to rebuild the Capitol, my father was recalled by Mr. Madison, then the President. The flames kindled by Admiral Cockburn had destroyed every vestige of Dr. Thornton's work. The solid vaults alone remained in the lower stories. The walls were cracked and shattered, and the whole interior of the upper stories—the House of Representatives—the Senate, etc., had to be re-designed and rebuilt as they existed before the present extension. The national legislature being once more in the Capitol, and the design of the building being completed, my father's connection with the Capitol ceased, and he was succeeded by Mr. Bulfinch of Boston, a gentleman of ability and skill; and by him, the present building, excluding the dome and the extension, was finished. When it was resolved to extend the Capitol, Mr. Thomas U. Walter of Philadelphia, who was the student of the last survivor of my father's pupils, was called to the task, which he has completed in a manner which, while it has given a magnificent building to our country, has nobly illustrated his genius and his wondrous skill. Had not the events of the last four years absorbed the public attention, the gradual growth of the dome—a structure unique in the world,

would have attracted the notice due to the extraordinary combinations of one of the most elaborately complicated structures of modern times—or indeed of any time—for there is no such edifice, built of iron, in the world, nor ever has been.

If what was intended to be a brief notice of the portfolio so often referred to, has spread itself into a tedious narrative, the apology, I trust, will be found in the circumstance that, remote as are the facts referred to, my personal recollection bears witness to the general accuracy of many of them; and in the truism that in the history of a people their architecture has often times furnished the only materials—and frequently the most interesting. The refinement of Greece finds better witnesses in the Parthenon, the Erechtheum and the Propylæa, than in the poems of Homer or the tragedies of Aeschylus. And the monoliths of Egypt testify to a mechanical and wondrous skill of which no written statement, no tradition even, is extant.

AN EARLY MOVEMENT FOR THE INCORPORATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN BALTIMORE CITY.

The First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore was organized in 1761, and was incorporated by the Legislature in 1798. There have recently come to light, in the papers of the Society, the records of an interesting movement to have the church incorporated twenty-four years earlier, and these documents are printed herewith. It has not yet been ascertained why the movement failed, nor whether it was renewed during the period intervening between 1774 and 1778. The three papers are found among the manuscripts of the Society and are catalogued as Black Book No. 10, papers 75, 76, 77.

The endorsement of this paper is

THE PETITION OF THE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS
IN BALTIMORE COUNTY.

1774.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ROBERT EDEN ESQ^R Governour and
Commander in Chief in & over the Province of Maryland

The Petition of us the Subscribers, in behalf of ourselves & Others, Members of the Presbyterian Society in Baltimore Town, humbly Sheweth

That your Petitioners, being Protestant Dissentors, have at a considerable Expence purchas'd a Lot of Ground, & erected thereon a Church, for the decent Celebration of our public Worship, in the Exercise whereof we are influenced by such Motives, as our best Information obliges us to approve.—Our religious Profession, tho different from the Church established in this Province, is perfectly consistent with the Government & Laws, which breathe the Spirit of Toleration: Yet, as We enjoy no Legal Consideration in a Congregational Capacity, we are unavoidably subject to many Inconveniencies in recovering & Securing such Subscriptions as become due in the ordinary Management of our Affairs, together with any Grants, Devises, & Donations which have been, or may hereafter be, made for the Use and benefit of our Church, And fear that We are not sufficiently enabled to hold the Church, Burying Ground & Estate of the Society by a clear & indisputable Title.

Under these Circumstances We beg leave to request, That Your Excellency would be pleased to grant unto certain Persons of our Society a Charter of Incorporation for the benefit of the Same, whereby our Apprehensions & Inconveniencies may be removed, and our Possessions effectually Secured.—

With pleasure we view the spreading Catholicism of the persent enlightend Age, and the agreeable Harmony which prevails among Christians of Various Denominations.—Encouraged by your

liberal & generous Sentiments, We respectfully prefer this Application to your Excellency, whose mild & impartial Administrations since you received the Reins of Government in Maryland, have Justly entitled you to the warmest Acknowledgements from all its Inhabitants. Should we be so happy as to obtain your Approbation of our Request, it will increase the Obligations we are already under to Your Excellency, in common with the whole People, who have experienced the salutary Effects of your upright Measures.—With due deference We submit the Premises to your Consideration, intreating Your Excellency to Grant us such Relief therein, as to your Wisdom shall seem proper, And Your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall pray

Jon^a Plowman.
 Will Lyon per W. Smith.
 Wm. Buchanan.
 Wm. Spear.
 Jas. Sterett.
 Saml Purviance, Jun^r.
 Jas. Calhoun.
 W. Smith.
 Wm. Neill.
 John Boyd.
 A. Stenhouse.
 Jno. Smith.
 Robert Purviance.

} Committee of the Presbyterian
 Society in Baltimore Town.

The Particulars proposed to be contained in the Charter of Incorporation, which is apply'd for to his Excellency the Governor.

That the following Persons, William Lyon Jonathan Plowman John Smith William Buchanan William Smith William Spear James Sterrett John Boyd Samuel Purviance Alexander Stenhouse Robert Purviance James Calhoun & William Neill be a Body Corporate & Politic in Law, by the name of the Committec of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore Town.

That the Corporation have a right of continuing the Succession

forever. That the number of Members in said Corporation shall not at any time exceed Twentyone, Nor be less than Nine.

That they be impowered to hold possessions for the benefit of the Society, whose annual profits shall not be more than

That they may hold a Public Seal, and make Such by Laws & regulations as shall be found necessary, & which are consistent with the Laws of Great Brittain & this Province.

That if the Corporation Shall neglect or refuse to chuse new Members, for the Space of three Months after they may happen to be reduced to the number of Nine, then it shall & may be Lawfull for the Society to meet & chuse members of said Corporation, that the Succession may thereby be maintained.

Henry Harford Esq^r true & absolute Lord & Proprietary of the Province of Maryland to all to whom these presents shall come Greeting.

Whereas the Committee of the Society of Protestant Dissentors in Baltimore Town, at present known & distinguished by the name of Presbyterians, have signified to us that they are subject to great apprehensions & inconveniencies for want of being a Corporate Body in Law to hold their Church & Burying Ground by a sufficient Tenure, & to claim & recover such Subscription & Debts as become due in the ordinary management of their Congregational business, & to receive & secure any grants, devises & donations which have been & may hereafter be, made for the use & benefit of their Church,

Wherefore they have in behalf of themselves & said Society prayed us to grant our Charter of Incorporation to them the said Committee for these purposes,

Now know ye That we favouring the said Prayer & application & being desirous to encourage every pious & useful design & for other good causes & considerations us thereunto moving do by these presents give, grant & declare that the said Committee are & shall be one Body Corporate & Politic in Deed by the name of the Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore Town one Body Corporate & Politic in deed and name we do

for us our Heirs and Successors fully create constitute & confirm by these presents & that by the said name they may have perpetual Succession and that they & their successors by the name of the Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore Town be, and at all times hereafter shall be, Persons able & capable in Law to have, get, receive, & possess Lands, Tenements, Rents, Liberties, Franchises & Hereditaments, to them & their Successors in Fee simple, or for Term of Life, Lives, years or otherwise, and also Goods, Chattles, & other things of what kind or quality soever, which together with the proffits arising from the Burying Ground, Scite, & Pews of said Church shall be considered as the Stock & Property of the said Church provided that the real Estate of the said Corporation shall not at any time exceed the sum of Sterling Money of Great Brittain \pounds annum exclusive of the Profitts arising, or that shall arise from the burying Ground, Scite, & Pews of said Church: And also to give grant, Let & assign the same Lands & Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods & Chattles, excepting the Burying Ground of said Society and the scite of said Church and to do & execute all other things about the same and also that they be, and shall be, forever after Persons able & capable in Law to sue & to be sued, Plead & be impleaded, defend & be defended in all and any Court & Courts within the said Province in all manner of Actions, Suites, complaints, Pleas, Causes and matters whatsoever, and that it shall & may be Lawfull to and for the said Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Baltimore Town, and their Successors for ever hereafter to have and use one common Seal for the Sealing of all business touching the said Corporation, and the same from time to time at their will and pleasure to change and alter, and also that it shall & may be Lawfull for the said Committee or a majority of them & their Successors for ever to make and enact all by Laws, rules and ordinances that shall & may be necessary for the regulation and management of the Stock & property of the said Church & that are not inconsistent with, or repugnant to, the Laws of great Brittain or this Province, Provided allways that said Corporation shall not engage in any new business or undertaking, not authorised by the ordinary usage & Practice of said Society, whereby

said Society shall be involved in an expence of more than fifteen Pounds Sterling Money of great Brittain aforesaid, nor shall said Corporation alien or encumber the real Estate or any part of it without the consent & approbation of two thirds of said Society when convened together for this purpose ; and in order that such consent & approbation may be regularly obtained, Public notice shall be given from the Pulpit of said Church the two Sundays next preceding the Day on which a meeting of said Society is appointed to be held, which meeting shall be held accordingly and the business shall be determined by a Majority of two thirds of those persons who, having a right to vote, shall meet & vote accordingly, provided that no person shall be judged capable to interfere or vote, unless he shall have belonged at least one year to said Society, and have paid one Years contribution for a Pew, or part of a Pew, in said Church, not less than five Shillings Sterling Money of great Brittain aforesaid, and shall not be in arrear for one years contribution, and said Corporation are hereby required to produce in said Church on the first Monday in May yearly and every year, a regular account of all the monies, rents, profits, which have from time to time by them been received or alienated and disbursed for the inspection of any Members belonging to said Society who are qualified to vote as above described.

And we do by these presents for us our Heirs & Successors ordain constitute & appoint that the said Corporation shall consist of the following persons, viz. William Lyon Jonathan Plowman John Smith William Buchanan Will^m. Smith William Spear James Sterrett John Boyd Samuel Purviance Alexander Stenhouse Robert Purviance James Calhoun and William Neill and such other persons as shall be chosen, nominated & Elected by them & their Successors from time to time for ever, provided that the number of Members in said Corporation shall at no time hereafter exceed Twentyone nor be less than Nine, and provided also that no person shall be held capable of being elected a member of said Corporation unless he shall have belonged at least one year to said Society, and shall have paid one years Contribution for a Pew in said Church, not less than Ten Shillings Sterling Money of Great Brittain aforesaid, and shall not

be in arrear for one Years Contribution and if any Member of said Corporation shall remove more than fifteen Miles from Baltimore Town, or shall neglect to attend or be absent from the Meetings of said Corporation for the Space of one Year then every Member so removing or so neglecting shall thereby forfeit his Right, interest & claim in said Corporation and cease to be a Member thereof.

And we do by these presents for us our Heirs & Successors ordain constitute and appoint that, when & as often, at all times hereafter as the said Corporation shall agree to hold an Election of new Members for Securing the perpetual Succession thereof the names of the persons intended to be chosen and qualified as already directed shall be mentioned at one of the Stated meetings of said Corporation and the Election shall be held at the next Subsequent Stated meeting & shall be determined by the concurrence of a majority of two thirds of the whole Corporation and not otherwise and if said Corporation shall when their number is at any time reduced to Nine neglect or refuse to hold an Election of Members for the space of three Months after said Reduction then it shall & may be lawfull for said Society to meet together having had public notice in time & manner as heretofore mentioned & to Elect fit & discreet Persons who shall be qualified as has been already described to be Members of said Corporation that said Corporation may be thereby perpetuated and the good design of its institution be fully answered and such Election so held shall be determined by a majority of two thirds of the Members of said Society who having a right to Elect shall meet & Elect accordingly provided always that no person shall be permitted to Elect or chuse who shall not possess the qualifications laid down in a preceding part of this Charter specifying the persons who are judged capable to Interfere and vote in the alienation of the Estate of said Church &c.

And lastly we do for us our Heirs & Successors grant & declare & ordain that the present Charter & every article therein contained shall be in all things firm & valid & sufficient in Law unto the said Corporation and their Successors forever according to the true intent & meaning thereof without any

farther grant from us our Heirs & Successors to be procured and obtained.

In Testimony whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent and the great Seal of our Province of Maryland to be hereunto affixed on this Day of in the year of our Dominion & in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred & Seventy four. Witness Robert Eden Esquire Lieutenant Governor and Commander in chief of the Province aforesaid the Day & Year above mentioned.

HAMMOND VS. HEAMANS.

HAMMOND VERSUS HEAMANS

OR AN
ANSWER

To an audacious Pamphlet, published by an impudent
and ridiculous Fellow, named

ROGER HEAMANS,

Calling himself Commander of the Ship *Golden Lion*, wherein
he endeavours by lies and holy expressions, to colour
over his murders and treacheries committed
in the Province of Maryland, to the
utter ruine of that flourishing
Plantation;

Having for a great sum sold himself to proceed in those
cruelties; it being altogether answered out of the abstract of
credible Oaths taken here in England.

In which is published His Highnesses absolute (though
neglected) Command to Richard Bennet Esq^r
late Governour of Virginia, and all others
not to disturbe the Lord Baltamores
Plantation in Maryland.

By JOHN HAMMOND, a Sufferer in these Calamities.

1. Sam. 20, v. 23. As touching the thing which thou and I
have spoken of, behold the Lord be between thee and me.

Job 22, v. 5. Is not thy wickednesse great, and thine iniqui-
ties innumerable?

Job 12, 7. Ye speak wickedly for God's defence, and talk
deceitfully for his cause.

Printed at London for the use of the Author, and are to be
sold at the Royall Exchange in Cornhill.

HAMMOND VERSUS HEAMANS.

I was very opposite to publish myself to the world a fool in print, resolving rather to wait the determination of the Supreme Authority of England, by whō (and not by railing invectives) we must be tryed, than to have expressed so much indifferency as to have carped unseasonably at the proceeding of these inhuman, ingratefull, and blood sucking Sectaries, which mention God in their lips, but their hearts arre far from him; but that I see daily a broaching of lyes, one confederating and in the neck of another, which begets belief amongst many, and carries a vulgar applause along with their action, the only way these people ever pitched on to effect their designs, and the rather are they credited by our silence.

We desire to satisfye every man, and especially our worthy friends the noble Virginians in England (for in Virginia they are sufficiently informed) and that by their unbyast discourses and relations they may undeceive such as the hypocricies of these fellows hath deluded.

This, and the inward vexation which perplexeth me to read what they write, to hear what's reported, awakes me, as knowing more of their deceits and proceedings than any man living. I have at this present written, lying by me an Historical relation of the transactions of Virginia and Maryland, under the Government and Tyrrany of Richard Bennet and Colonel Claiborn, with many remarkable passages of such State-policies as they and their creatures used; but will for a while forbear to publish, as rather deserving this penjarring may cease; but if any of this rout shall any more disturbe the world (for us they cannot do) with their seeming self-sanctified lies, I will then not spare to acquaint the world what they are, and how they live, and give each of their Characters to open view, which now lyes masked under the hood of holinesse, and good disposition, in which I shall somewhat more largely answer Leonard Strong's Babylon's fall, the book of Virginia and Maryland, and other objections and allegations of theirs, being all full of impudence and ignorance.

But that Heamans should dare to write amazes me, knowing his imbecillity, his villainy, and therefore I shall in my answer to him, briefly and in his own tone anatomize and lay him open to the world a fool, to the State a knave, to God a notorious offender whose unfeigned repentance I cordially wish, and that his future portion of Grace may over-balance his former talents of wit and honesty, in the want of which the poor man hath been too unhappy. But to the matter.

Roger Heamans gives a great account in his whole relation of his extraordinary vigilancy and diligence in managing of his charge, and the trust imposed on him by his owners, but omits to insert what a disordered Ship and Company he had, how mutinous and quarrelsome they were amongst themselves, and how upon every drunken bout they had, what Swords were drawn, what challenges made between the Seamen and their great Commander, insomuch that the Inhabitants observing their carriages, with derision and detestation reported of the fantasticknesse of Heamans and his rude ungoverned Ships Company.

The Insolence of these were such towards the Inhabitants, (observing the licentiousnesse of those parts) and taking occasion thereby, that they would sell commodities to whom they list, and lighting on greater prices, would of their own accords (after delivery made) repossesse themselves again, scoffing at any pretence of Law or Justice, saying (as it after proved too true) that their Ship was of force enough to awe the whole Countrey, inflicting punishments on the Planters, and robbing houses as they went, all which is sufficiently proved by Depositions already taken.

He relates how civilly he entreated Capt. Stone, formerly Governor Stone, who refused the title of Governour from him, informing him that one Captain Fuller was Governor of the Province, and intimates, that from that relation he bends to Fuller, as Governour ever after. How disconsonant to reason this is, let any judge that know reason, that know the passages, that know Capt Stones temper.

At such time as Bennet and Claiborn came into Maryland, and had compacted to take the Government out of the hands of Capt. Stone after he had notice of the power they had gathered, he likewise impowered himself for defence, and was in possibility to have cut Bennet and Claiborn and all off, but those few Papists that were in Maryland (for indeed they are but few) importunately perswaded Governour Stone not to fight, lest the cry against the Papists (if any hurt were done) would be so great, that many mischiefs would ensue, wholly referring themselves to the will of God, and the Lord Protectors determination; & although the Protestant party with indignation to be so fooled, submitted to what their Governour was perswaded to do, yet could not but complaine in that particular against the cowardize of the Papists.

After they had dispossessed Governour Stone of his Authority, and had by promises to dis-bandon their party, perswaded him to do the like, they presented him with a draught for resignation under his hand, which when he refused, their whole party upon notice given, on a sudden returned, to the astonishment of himself, and affrightment of his wife and children, and required peremptorily to subscribe to what they had written, which he did, saying, it matters not what it is, I will being thus enforced, write what ye will have me, it cannot be binding nor valid; Lo here the observance of Bennet and Claiborn's promises, and after this they would have impowered him as Governor from them, which with scorn he refused; nor did Governor Stone ever in his own esteem, nor in the eyes of those that had been faithfull to his Government, look on himself as lesse or otherwise than Governour, nor ever received other title, how be it he ceased to act until he heard further from England; yet in Heamans his hearing, and aboard that Ship which he calls himself Commander of, Governour Stone and Secretary Hatton both, had some words with Mr Preston the new-made Commander, complaining of their injurious assuming of the Government, and taking away the Records, threatening, that unlesse they would return them again, they would

compell them away—How then did he dis-own his Government? and for him to point to Fuller as Governour, had not only been base, but ridiculous; for neither Fuller himself (untill after their murderous assassinations) nor the Commission he had from Bennet and Claiborn, did own or make him so; for after Governour Stone refused to deride or meddle with power from Bennet and Claiborn, they erect no Governour at all, but gave Commission to ten men, Fuller being first in that Commission, to be conservators of the peace, untill further orders; then how is Heamans relation true?

He next after some frivolous relations prosecutes his feigned narration of what his Governour Fuller (for untill Heamans made him one he was never any) had done in his absence, what Messages he had received frō his Governor, how obedient he was to the supreme command of Fuller how carefull to follow his Merchants businesses, and yet how charitable and relenting to those poor distressed souls that begged his assistance. Hear this O ye Heavens.

At such time as Capt. Samuel Tilman (a man ever to be honoured) arrived into Maryland, he repaired to Governor Stone, acquainting him, that the Lord Baltimore had not lost his Country as was bruted abroad, and brought him some instructions and certainties of his Highnesses owning him the said Stone for Governour, and when he was reproved by one Captain John Smith, the High Sheriff, for giving Captaine Stone the frequent appellation of Governour; he replied, I must and shall own him and no other for Governour of these parts, for seeing my Lord Protector so stiles him, and by that title writes to him, I neither can nor dare call him otherwise, and his example is my warrant.

Upon this the said Smith (as a man affrighted) hies him home, repairs to Fuller and the rest, they treat with Heamans to assist their opposition, compound with him for a great quantity of Tobacco, and so prepare to oppose all power that should control theirs.

Governour Stone sent me, not knowing of the pact of Hea-

mans and the rest, to Patuxent to fetch the Records; I went unarmed amongst these Sons of Thunder, onely three or four to row me, and despite of all their braves of raising the Country, calling in his Servants to apprehend me, threatned me with the severity of their new made Law; my selfe alone seized and carried away the Records in defiance; at which time whatever Heamans pretends of compacts with Heathens and Papists to destroy them, Richard Preston their great but also quaking Commander, shewed me a Letter from Heamans, wherein he promised the Ship, Ammunition and Men, should be at their service if occasion were, and encouraged them not to think of yeelding to Governour Stone, nor any power from the Lord Baltamore, and this was the first discovery that ever was made by Governour Stone and not a man in armes, nor intended to be at that time, and yet before this, meerly upon Captaine Tilmans words, and their own jealousies, had Heamans confederated with, and hired himself to them, and yet this fellow must not onely justify his Judas-like dealings, but as it were, challenge applause and merit.

After this myself again unarmed proclaimed a Proclamation amongst them, put in a new Commander in the face of the whole County met, who as a people overjoyed to return to their former just Government, as in their voluntary and humble Petitions, they presenting, acknowledged the Lord Protector as Supreme was prayed for, and Pardons were as freely consented to, as intreated for.

But those poor-oppressed souls of Severn, as Heamans stiles them, being of another temper and Country, and more remote, having Heamans and his Company their assured Ianizaries, rather choosing to lose their lives than their Lordings; sent peremtory Messengers to the Governour, (not such as Heamans relates and sets down) which we all here know to be invented, and rather kept and contrived to be published in England, than intended for their Governour, who zealously affected peace, and twice before had suffered himself rather to be fooled out of his Government, than to hazzard the shedding of blood.

But how comes it their little Agent Strong, nor the impudent Author of Virginia and Maryland, in either of their whisking Treatises mention these so specious propositions inserted in Heamans his works? Heamans you do it scurvily, and we shall yet further discover you. The joyning with Heathens, the plundering of houses, the intent to fire your Ship, the hiring of Abraham Hely and the horrid treacheries you load us with, will more particularly be questioned and answered in another place than here; we have your Book for evidence of your charge, we only fear you will turn Jack Lilburn, and put us to prove it to be yours, which if you do, we have other reckonings to put on your score.

You can in nothing deal truly, the Letter you pretend you received, myself writ, I procured another, now happily arrived, to transcribe it, which the Governour signed, the contents whereof were, That he had been informed upon sight of a Letter pretended to come from you, that you intended some disturbance in the Province, and had promised Mr. Preston the assistance of your Ship, Ammunition and Men, he rather conceived it was a forgery, and you abused, than that any such things really were, and hoped you came for a peaceable Trade, and to follow your employers businesse, and not to meddle with the differences of the Country, promising you all encouragement and justice that could possibly be expected, and earnestly intreating that if you had any such resolution you would declare it, which had you done, and not treacherously coloured it over with promises to wait on the Governour, he had retired, no blood had been spilt.

The warrants you so croud in your Book, in the name of the Lord Protector, you imagine peradventure will bear you out, had you not been hired the jugling had been handsome, but now tis foolish, nor can any Rebellion ever bear bulk, unlesse it passe on in the name of Supreme Authority. For the Letter you pretend you writ, you confesse you did it by advice of your Severn imployers; yet in that you affirm a monstrous untruth in saying the Government settled in Cap^t Fuller was

since established by the Lord Protector, you shall by and by see how all such pretended powers are by his Highnesses absolute Commands null, but never be able nor no stickler of you all to prove any confirmation, had you had any such thing, although you talk much of it, you would have posted it and published it to the World in Capitall Letters.

You great Merchant Richard Owen, and his best penn'd Letter, if it be his, that ever came from him, was not a matter materiall for the presse, we knew him a year or two since a Planter of little credit, and now a very sorry Merchant, yet any stuff will serve such as yee are.

Concerning the firing of your Ship (I speak to the abused World, not to Heamans) he knows already what I writ is true that at tryall of the Governour and Councell, one Captain Findall upon examination did acknowledge that after Heamans Treachery to shoot at them, having discovered himself an enemy, he undantedly told them that himself, could he have compassed, would have fired his Ship.

But how prettily do they forget? Fuller he sayes informed him that Cap^t Stone intended to fire his Ship, and this dispute between the Hireling and the Master must be taken as a truth, and come likewise to the Presse, and yet Heamans and they bargained before: Here if it had been truth, you again shew yourself a fool, to ingage because Fuller affrighted you.

And why should Captain Stone think of firing your Ship, had you not been a declared enemy? or if he had such an intent, why did he by Letter addresse himself to you to stand Newter? before this addresse Fuller and yee fomented these jealousies amongst the people, which by that after addresse, was clearly manifest it was never intended, therefore being in its own reason only a fiction, wherefore did you print it? The cause of your Seaman Helies running away, I know not, but have been informed the Fellow was of an honest temper, and that your fantastick domineerings was the cause he rather chose to lose his voyage, than longer to continue under you. In your whole relation of commands and arguments between you and

your employers, you so impudently juggle, that you raise both laughter and anger in me; I shall not swell this to descant on each frivolous passage.

The delivery of your Benefactors of Ann Arundel County, is indeed a demy-miracle as you deliver it, but let a true information be received, it will appear otherwise; first, to be treacherously dispersed and hurried a shore, as our men were by Heamans firing at them.

Next to be pursued by another vessel, commanding at a distance, and so seizing on our Boats, and Ammunition; what a great matter did ye? it is and hath been ordinary for a hundred men to surprise and take prisoners two hundred, but ye had more, ours not so many as I mention, and the difference was, ours came with a resolution rather to treat than fight, yours resolved to have the Government or nothing, and therefore would not suffer any Declaration to be published, but surprized the Messenger, and what was most monstrous, after free quarter given, to adjudge condemn and execute as ye did, yourself Heamans sitting in consultation, and being of their Counsell of War, and most active to have all executed, none reprieved, no not the Governor himself; it was the first time that ever Heamans had power of condemnation, and therefore thought to grow glorious by his unsampled severity. Take a little view of these oaths, and then judge of this, and these fellows.

Henry Coursey, Nicholas Guyther, and Richard Willan of the Province of Maryland in America gent. make oath, that in or about the latter end of May in the year 1654, His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, was by Captain William Stone the Lord Baltamores Governour of that Province, caused to be proclaimed in the head of the People there, they being then summoned in by Capt. Stone for that purpose; and the said Governor took orders with Captain Tilman and Mr. Bosworth, two Commanders of Ships, then trading in that Province, to shoot off several peeeces of Ordnance

from their respective Ships, in honour of that Solemnity. And they further depose that in the Moneth of July then next following, Mr. Richard Bennet (the then Governour of Virginia and Colonel William Claiborn the then Secretary thereof, came from Virginia to Patuxent River in the said Province of Maryland, and there entertained as Souldiers the Inhabitants of the said River, with those of Ann Arundel, otherwise by them called Providence as also the Inhabitants of the Isle of Kent within the said Province, and so forced the said Captain Stone to resign his Government. And the said Deponent Henry Coursey further saith, that the said Bennet and Claiborn afterwards forced the said Governour to set his hand to a Writing, the Contents whereof as this Deponent doth remember was, That he should not meddle with the resuming of the Government in the Lord Baltamores behalf. And all the said Deponents further say, that the said Bennet & Claiborn then seized upon the records of the said Province, & put them into the possession of one Captain William Fuller, Mr. Richard Preston and William Durand; and the Deponent Hen: Coursey saith, That in March last, the said Captain Stone sent up to the said Inhabitants of Ann Arundel one Mr. Luke Barber and the said Deponent Henry Coursey with a Proclamation to require the Inhabitants there to yeeld obedience to the Lord Baltamores Officers, under his Highnesse the Lord Protector; and that when the said Mr. Barber and this Deponent Henry Coursey came thither they found the people there all in arms, and the said Fuller would not suffer this Deponent to read the said Proclamation, and so refusing to give any obedience thereunto, the said Mr. Barber and this Deponent were dismissed, but suddenly after (before conveniently they could get away) were taken prisoners by that party, whereby the said Governour Captain Stone was prevented of any answer, whereupon he proceeded to come up with what force he had into the River, called by some Severn, where these people lived: And all these Deponents say, That when the said Captain Stone came into the said River, there was one Captain Roger Heamans with a

great Ship called the *Golden Lion* whereof he was Commander who presently shot at Captain Stones Boats as they passed by him; And the said Guyther and Willan do further depose, That the said Captain Stone (to avoid the said shot) went into a Creek in the said River, where one Mr. Cuts with another Ship (whereof he was Master, blocked up the mouth thereof, and upon any discovery forced there Ordnance at the said Captain Stone and his party, until such time as the said Inhabitants of Ann Arundel had transported themselves over the River, unto the said Captain Stone and his party; where after some dispute, the Governour (finding himself over-powered) yeelded upon quarter, whereupon he and most of his party were transported over the River to a Fort at Ann Arundel, where they were all kept prisoners, and about three dayes after, the said Captain Fuller, William Burgess, Richard Evans, Leo: Strong, William Durand, the said Roger Heamans, John Brown, John Cuts, Richard Smith, one Thomas, and one Bestone, Samson Warren, Thomas Meares, and one Crouch, sat as in a Councel of War, and there condemned the said Governour Captain Stone, Colonel John Price, Mr. Job Chandler, Mr. William Eltonhead, Mr. Robert Clerk, the said Deponent Nicholas Guyther, Captain William Evans, Captain William Lewis, Mr. John Legat, and John Pedro to dye, whereof they executed Mr. William Eltonhead, Captain William Lewis, Mr. John Legat, and John Pedro, the rest being preserved at the request of the Souldiers and Women belonging to the said party at Ann Arundel after which execution, the common souldiers that did belong to the said Captain Stone, were sent away to their severall homes, but the Officers and the said Messengers were detained longer, and at the discharging of the said Deponents Henry Coursey and Nicholas Guyther, the pretended Council of War imposed an oath upon them, That they should not write into England to give the Lord Baltamore any information of their proceedings; and not long after they sequestered all the Estates of those of the Lord Baltamores Council and Officers there; and the said Henry Coursey further

deposeth, That he was present when Mr. William Eltonhead desired to be allowed an appeale to His Highnesse the Lord Protector in England, but it was refused him by the said pretended Councel of War at Ann Arundel; And the said Deponents Henry Coursey and Nicholas Guyther do further depose, that a little before the sending of the Proclamation before mentioned, to the people at Ann Arundel, they heard the said Captain Stone declare unto certain Messengers whom these people had sent unto him, that if the said people, who he understood were in arms, would repaire unto their severall homes, and submit themselves unto the former established Government under the Lord Baltamore, which did acknowledge His Highnesse the Lord Protector as Sovereign Lord, he would not offer any violence to them, or do them any prejudice, either in their persons or estates, or words to the very same effect; And the Deponent Richard Willan doth also further depose, That about the time when the said Luke Barber and Henry Coursey went with the said Proclamation above mentioned, he heard the said Captain Stone command that none of his party should rob or plunder upon pain of death.

HENRY COURSEY
NICHOLAS GUYTHER
RICHARD WILLAN

Sworn all three the second day of July 1655 before me
Na. Hobart, a Master of the Chancery in ordinary.

Now may the Reader thoroughly understand their Religion, their humanity, their usage of His Highnesses name, and to what purpose, not to act further by it than shall conduce to their own ends; they will, they say, be subordinate to no power but to the Lord Protector, and yet deny appeales to His Highnesse, rejecting His Highnesses Commands, breath out vants, that if His Highnesse will not own their actings, they will not take notice of what comes from him. They imprisoned, fined,

and hardly forbore to have executed Doctor Luke Barber, notwithstanding he brought in a Letter from His Highnesse, directed to Captain William Stone Governour for the Lord Baltimore of his Province of Maryland, intimating thus, That the Bearer hereof Luke Gardner, having been one of his Domestick Servants, was intended to remove himself and family into Maryland, and therefore he intreated him to shew him for his sake, what lawfull favour and assistance he could, signing it

OLIVER P.

and under His Highnesses Signet.

This was pretended a forgery, and Mr. Barber put to prove it to be the Lord Protectors, but he must prove it in their place, no appeale could lie good, and the Gentleman as I have often heard him protest, was so over-awed that at last he durst not affirmatively maintain it came from His Highnesse but answered doubtfully and distractedly. A strange impudence when a Mandate so sacred as under His Highnesses Hand and Seal, must not only be disputed, but to require a further evidence then himself, witnessing what shall issue out from himself, this is the greatest spurning against, and overthrowing Authority that ever was heard of or suffered.

His Highnesse having notice of the proceedings of Bennet Claiborn and these people, notwithstanding the sweet Letter he sent to Bennet requiring him to cherish peace in the Plantations; now further declares himself as followeth—

Sir

Whereas the difference betwixt the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia concerning the bounds respectively claimed, are depending before us and our Councel, and yet undetermined, and that as we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his Plantation in Maryland and countenanced some people there, in opposing the Lord Baltamores Officers; therefore for preventing of disturbances or tumults, we do will and require you, and all others deriving

Authority from you, to forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore or his Officers and people in Maryland, and to permit all things to remain as they were there, before any disturbance or alteration made by you or any other, upon pretence of authority from you, till the said difference above mentioned be determined by us here, and that we give you further order therein: we rest

Your Loving Friend

Signed

OLIVER P.

To Richard Bennet esq

Governour of Virginia

These

White-Hall, Jan. 12 1654

Copia Vera, Examinatur

per Will. Malin.

By this it appears how great care hath been by His Highnesse used to prevent blood-shed, yet nothing will prevaile, and although by this it appeares that Bennets pretended power ceased, and any derived from him, yet will not Leo. Strong the Munkie-Agent of Providence (as he calls himselfe) cease to be an Agent, but will juttle this high command and revocation; he preadventure at last will pretend his deafnesse, that he never heard it, but cannot alleage blindnesse, for he had and shall again see what it is.

Were not their actions very justifiable when they shold keep men in prison untill they should submit to an Oath imposed on them, never to write for England or to the Lord Baltimore, what had been done? and suffer none to depart for England but what got away by stealth? myself being proscribed by Proclamation, and a great reward for him that should bring in my head, yet was I never in armes, nor never was an Instigator against any of them in all those hurliburlies—We have many authentick testimonies discovering all their actions and proceedings, which are too voluminous to be inserted into an answer to such an Ideot as the Commander of the *Golden Lion*;

we hereby endeavour to give onely a hint that Heamans hath abused the World with his Pamphlet, not a sillable whereof is truth; how he hath deluded his owners with pretence of his care; how he hath spurned at and belied the Supreme Authority; how he hath intruded himself without any lawfull call, into the Seat of Justice, and there acted the part of a bloody and aggravating Murtherer, condemning Innocents and trampling on the souls of them he hath betrayed to death, for without his combination, nothing of this had happened, and ourselves had without rigor without bloodshed, compelled Obedience to the Supreme Command of His Highnesse under the Lord Baltimore whom we with all solemnity proclaimed, and under whose protection we rejoyced, as our Sovereign Lord; issuing out generall Pardons in commemoration of that great and happy Solemnity.

And therefore we do and shall justly charge this Heamans with all the blood spilt in our Province, as the immediate author, with all the ruines, the banishments, the sequestrations of Estates, and the heart breaking griefs he hath yeilded our Wives and Children, to whom if ever we return again, it is through many dangers and hazzards.

For the cry of Hey for St. Maries, hey for two wives if any rude Souldiers in those or any other termes were abusive, it must not colour your machination, it proceeded by no order of the Governours, nor from the mouthes of any of quality, themselves were civill and attractive, nor was ever any party afoot without some absurd expression, or disordered language; but these are weak flourishes, and will only bear you out in weak esteemes.

Your observation of Captain Stones dejection, and his renunciation of the Lord Baltimore, the dead-heartedness of the Prisoners, being onely affirmed by yourself, is of as little credit as any thing else you have related; nor are you and your compacted theevisish Ships company to be evidences one for another, and no better than Theeves and Murtherers, to justifie you you have none; the religious rejoycing you mention, is no

otherwise than such prayers and rejoycings as Theeves and Gamesters at or after their enterprises use, and as acceptable to God; but seeing Heamans was a Judge to condemn, and now is become a Writer, I shall no longer dwell on Heamans papers, I shall conclude with that fearfull wo denounced by the Prophet Isaiah, against such as you are,

Isa. 10-v-1 Wo unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things,

Verse 2. To keep back the poor from judgement, and to take away the judgment of the poor of my people; that widows may be their prey, and that they may spoil the fatherlesse.

Finis

NEW LIGHT ON MARYLAND HISTORY FROM THE BRITISH ARCHIVES.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

The Library of Congress has recently caused the transcription of a number of the manuscript records found in England relating to American History and among these transcripts I have found some interesting facts relating to two periods in the history of Maryland, namely: the first settlement of the Province, and the Revolutionary War.

As to the earlier of these periods, we gain considerable light upon the voyage of the *Ark* and the *Dove*, through six suits brought in the Admiralty Court by or against Lord Baltimore and his associates, with reference to these vessels. Three of the suits had to do with the provisioning of the expedition and the other three with the wages of the commander of the *Dove*. I have found no record of the final decisions of the suits but the bills of complaint and answers are sufficient to yield much information.

On May 16, 1634, a certain Jones sued Baltimore for £309. 14. 6, to pay him for 4 1/2 tuns of canary wine at £29 per tun; 4 sakers, a kind of small cannon, weighing 99 cwt. 1 qr., at 14 shillings per cwt.; and 4 demiculverins, larger cannon, weighing 118 cwt., at the same price. One wonders whether the cannon recently set up on State House hill at Annapolis is a part of this armament.

A little later, on June 2 and on July 5, 1634, one Leonard entered suit, alleging that he had furnished the expedition with 15 barrels of small beer, costing £3 in all, and beer valued at £6. 19. 0., in the harbor; while, for the voyage and the plantation, the vessels carried 64 tuns of beer at £3 per tun, 66 tuns at 48 shillings, and 64 tuns at 40 shillings, making 194 tuns in all, so that Leonard's total bill amounted to £608. 15. 0.

One marvels that there was room for any other equipment on the vessels and gains a stronger idea of the amount of malt liquors our predecessors consumed, and of the reasons which led Lord Arundel to give his son-in-law, Lord Baltimore, the Manor of Semley in Wiltshire, for love of that son-in-law, who had "weak fortunes, in that he had sunk himself in a plantation."

Richard Orchard, master of the pinnace *Dove*, sued Leonard Calvert, Jeremiah Hawley, Thomas Cornwallis and John Saunders, on February 5, 1635/6, upon his return to England, and, about two months later, on April 1, 1636, entered suit against Cecil, Lord Baltimore, who brought counter-suit in his turn. In the suit against Baltimore we find that Baltimore asserted that Orchard had contracted to obey Baltimore's directions on the voyage and to return to London, while no payment of wages was to be made until the end of 12 months, or of the completed voyage. If the voyage lasted for more than 12 months, payment should partly be made then and the rest on the return. Baltimore alleged that Orchard and the crew entered not into his service until November 22, 1633, the Friday on which the expedition left Cowes for America, and that payment had been made Orchard in Virginia.

From the suits brought by Orchard against Leonard Calvert

and others, we learn that they contracted, on September 30, 1633, with Orchard to hire his men and pay them fixed wages, and that, if the voyage were not finished within 12 months, the part of the wages due should be paid at that time. Orchard entered into full pay with them, on October 16, 1633, doubtless the day on which the *Dove* left London, and continued until November 19, 1634. The master's wages were to be £4 per month; while Samuel Lawson, the mate, should receive £2. 10; Richard Kenton, the boatswain, £1. 2; John Gainas, the gunner, £1.2; John Carle, a sailor, £1; and Michael Pirrie, the master's servant, a boy, 10 shillings. Orchard was also permitted to have the transportation of a boy free in that voyage, a privilege worth 6 shillings. The *Dove* was instructed to use its best endeavor to keep company with the *Ark*, but, in case the vessels should be parted by tempest or any other accident, Orchard should go to St. Kitts and await the *Ark* there. A storm, as we know, did separate the *Ark* from the *Dove* and Orchard, driven back to the Scilly Isles "by contrary winds or foul weather," went on, in convoy of the *Dragon*, to Barbadoes, a more southerly island, as Leonard Calvert alleged, to "accommodate and follow his occasions, to seek or look after the recovery of a debt or debts which were due unto him there." The *Ark* reached Barbadoes before the *Dove* and waited for it a week there. After leaving Barbadoes, the *Dove* again parted company with the *Ark* and tarried a few days at Montserrat and Nevis and, being chased by a Spanish frigate, was in danger of capture.

After the arrival in Maryland and the settlement there, Governor Calvert ordered the *Dove*, in June, 1634, to go to Massachusetts, trade for fish and other commodities, and return with all speed. Orchard did not arrive in Boston harbor, until August 29, and remained there until October. Leonard Calvert maintained that, if Orchard had shown diligence, he could have gone and come in 7 or 8 weeks, but he "so neglected and followed his own pleasures and occasions that he took 3 or 4 months and then returned to Virginia and this prevented his

finishing matters in a year." On Orchard's return to Virginia, in November, 1634, he found there Calvert and Hawley, "two of the said Lord Baltimore partners." On Wednesday, the 19th of that month, they came on board the pinnace and said they intended to pass therein to Maryland. Orchard, in what they thought a "mutinous and insolent manner," told them that he would not go and the "pinnace should not budge from thence, till he was satisfied for his wages." "Baltimore's partners," as they call themselves in their answer, had plantations in Maryland and told Orchard that, if he would carry the pinnace to Maryland, "where their means of estate lay, which is not above 2 or 3 days sail, being but 30 leagues or thereabouts," they would pay him all his wages due unto him and his company and entreated him to forbear, until his arrival at Maryland, for their wages and to stay in the ship, for that "there would be no body left to rule or govern the said ship, or to carry her to Maryland." This entreaty was of no avail; Orchard, Gainas, and Perry took the boats and went ashore and Kenton left on the next day. None of them returned until Saturday, the 22nd. Orchard maintained that he paid the mariners part or all of what was due them and that, after he demanded pay from Calvert and was refused by him, he went to the Governor and Council of Virginia with his complaint and that they heard the matter and ordered Orchard and his company to be paid. No payment was made, however, and Orchard claimed £200 as damages. While Orchard was absent from the *Dove*, a great storm and tempest arose and the vessel was in grave danger, according to Governor Calvert. From the same source, we learn that, on the 22nd, Orchard, with his company and divers others, did "riotously enter" into the *Dove* and carried themselves in a "very mutinous and braving manner towards her said commanders and, in contempt of them, said he and his company would keep possession" of the *Dove* for their wages. During all the voyage, he had acted "very insolently, quarrel-somely, and rudely, and did wastefully consume the said pinnace's victuals and commit divers outrages and misdemeanors

during said voyage." Immediately after this last outburst, Orchard and all his company forsook the *Dove* and "went clear away" and would not "carry her to Maryland." Calvert and Hawley "were enforced and, with much ado and great expenses, did get other mariners to carry them in the said pinnace to Maryland and the said other mariners would not carry the said pinnace further than Maryland, but the said commissioners were enforced to leave her there, when they came away, together with divers merchandise and goods of great value, for want of mariners to carry the *Dove* for England," so that Baltimore suffered £1000 damages.

These papers add interesting information to that previously gathered by me in my "Beginnings of Maryland" and the other papers, from the correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe, throw light on some of the persons referred to in my biographical sketch of Governor Robert Eden, last Proprietary Governor and First Baronet of Maryland.

The first of these letters, dated May 27, 1771, is from Governor Sharpe, himself, when he was living in retirement at his fine country place of Whitehall near Annapolis, and is addressed to the Governor's brother, Phillip, who was living in London. The former Governor found his exercise and his "principal amusement" in walking about his farm and garden and enjoyed fine health, because of the climate. In the spring, he had spent a week in Virginia, where there was no governor, and where "I think the people are as easily pleased as any in his majesty's dominions." The repeal of the Townshend Acts "seems to have pretty well pacified the Americans, but, during the non-importation agreement, many applied themselves to manufacturing and will, I believe, persevere." Sharpe had heard from Lord Baltimore, but did not know where to address a reply, and is glad he does not have to write to Hammersly, the Proprietary's secretary, any more. Jordan is scarcely able to crawl about and, if Baltimore expected any service from him, "he must be plaguily disappointed." The manor, which he got from Baltimore for £4000, he recently sold for £12,000.

At Bath or Tunbridge during the summer, Philip Sharpe will probably meet Mr. Carroll and wife, who hope to receive benefit from the waters. "He is a gentleman I visit," Governor Sharpe wrote, "and whom I wish very well."

Affairs in Maryland remain "in pretty much the same state." Governor Eden "has not as yet met with much to please or disgust him, but I think he is hardly as happy as he expected to be, and that a different kind of life would be more to his taste. We continue our good understanding and visit without ceremony."

The next letter, from Thomas Ringgold in Chestertown, on August 4, 1773, is in reference to an application by him to Baltimore's executors for a land grant on the Conococheague. Shortly afterwards, Sharpe went to England, never to return as far as I know, and thither Thomas Jennings wrote him from Annapolis on April 28, 1774, congratulating him on his safe arrival in Europe. "Our Assembly is just broke up, after sitting a long time and doing very little as usual. There is a schism amongst the Patriots. Hall and young Hammond are as violent in their opposition to Chase, Johnson, and Paca, as the latter ever were to the measures of government. Their differences have arose so high that the 3 last mentioned gentlemen have resolved to appear no more in the assembly and have, I believe, applied to the Governor for coroners' places to vacate their seats. You may remember, when Hammond opposed A. Steuart, Chase gave out that he could carry a broomstick against a courtier, which has since occasioned some witticisms here, among others that Hammond has put the broom to the stick and fairly swept them all out of the house."

The Rev. David Love, an Anglican clergyman, occupying a Maryland parish in ——— County, wrote the first of several letters extant from him to Sharpe, on May 23, 1774. Love stated that he never interfered in legislative squabbles and though chaplain of the Lower House he never stayed after prayers were over to hear a single debate, even when the clergy bill was "in agitation." The salary is now fixed at 4 shillings

for each taxable person for 12 years. "This law has happily allayed that spirit of wrangling and debate, which so long prevailed. . . About half of the clergy gains by this new regulation. . . I shall not receive for my 1000 taxables near so much. . . I gladly sacrificed my private interest to the public good, from a conviction that nothing but the law of last session could restore peace to the Province." Therefore, both Love and Rev. John Montgomery asked Jenifer to vote for the bill. Love spoke also to Dulany and Stewart, who were councillors, in favor of it. Dulany said that "the 4/ may be a good succedaneum for the present, but 12 years is a long term and your case is particularly hard." Love answered, "It is so, but lay my case aside and consider only the public utility. You may now compose all our disturbances. Therefore, let not my case prevent an amicable settlement. If this opportunity be lost, it may perhaps be remembered hereafter with regret."

Love further had instructed the sheriff to return two shillings to those who had paid five for the last two years, but continues an action he had begun against a certain Chapman to prove the validity of the old law. He writes of N. Anderson's death at Ridout's of a "consumptive disorder" and of his own expectation to remove soon into the repaired glebe house.

Two days later, Love wrote Sharpe a second letter, telling of Montgomery's request that Love join in an address to Governor Eden, thanking him for his regard to the clergy, vindicating his motives in signing the act, and reminding him of his promise to use his influence for the repeal of the new law. Eden himself had furnished Montgomery with these heads, in consequence of letters from Lord Dartmouth and the Bishop of London; but Love refused to sign the address, for he did not know Eden's motives in signing the bill; thought that reminding him of a promise was indecent, and did not want the repeal of a law for which both Montgomery and Love had asked Jenifer to vote. On the other hand, Love offered to draw up an address of best wishes for Eden, on the occasion of his approaching departure for England, and of hope for his return.

Montgomery replied that Eden wished no address, which should not particularly express desire for an appeal. Love added that Jenifer thought his position right, and he had talked with many clergymen, who expressed an inclination to acquiesce in the law and an aversion to measures which must have a tendency to renew disturbances.

When Eden sailed, he carried with him an address to Sharpe at the Purveyor's, Chelsea College, London, dated July 7, 1774, signed by Joshua Beall, T. Ware, and Rezin Beall asking for lands under the proclamation of 1763 and representing the evasions of Lord Dunmore in the matter, with the request that Sharpe present this to the proper authority.

A year later, on August 30, 1775, G. Milligan wrote Sharpe from Bohemia to tell him that the latter's mare, which was too lame for aught but breeding and could not race in any case, since all sport was now forbid by law, had a "fine horse colt by Lofty" and was now bred to "Young Traveller, Col. Lloyd's horse, that run in Virginia, out of his mare, Nancy Bywell, by Old Traveller." Milligan recently spent two days in Annapolis and visited Whitehall, where he found all well. Christie, who had been banished from the Province and lost money, is the carrier of the letter and will tell Sharpe of the events. "It is not now the fashion to say anything of politics in a letter and was I to give you any tolerable description of the strange scenes of riot, confusion, mock patriotism, madness, and folly that daily happens in most parts of this continent it would far exceed the bounds of 20 letters."

Love sent Sharpe the Journal of the Provincial Convention, enclosed in a letter of September 15, 1775. He refused to sign the Association, since he thought it would be wrong to do so, although most of his friends advised him to sign it. Many loyalists, such as Addison, Allen, Boucher, and Edmiston had left the country, rather than sign.

Four months subsequently, Love wrote again on January 29, 1776: "Unhappy disputes have risen to a fearful height" and this is the last letter which Love can send. "I keep retired

and visit only such of my acquaintances as can pass a few hours without political altercation." His study, his parish, and his garden occupy him. Chalmers, who was prosecutor in Harford County and had a good share of practice, has gone home to England. Love hoped Sharpe would return to Maryland. For himself, "by bark and exercise, in spite of the unhealthy situation and an uncommonly wet and sickly season," he escaped the intermittent fever last year, but feared the next season, when a fresh supply of the quinine bark can not be obtained. He hoped for a new living in the Province. After all, he had signed the Association, since Governor Eden told him that, as "he knew my principles and government could not, at present, protect me, he would take care that my signing did not turn out to my disadvantage." On the day before Love's brother sailed, Governor Eden dined on board his vessel and said that Captain Eden would give that brother a ship. There was a great stagnation of trade in Maryland.

Mr. Dick brings Love Annapolis news every Saturday. "Our difference in sentiment in political matters makes not the least change in other respects, so that we live in agreeable intimacy." He was then in Baltimore, as a member of the Committee of Safety and told Love that he intended to write Sharpe soon.

Governor Eden's departure for England gave Love an opportunity to send Sharpe by him a letter, written on the 7th June at Londontown, in which Love sends Mr. Dick's remembrance and tells Sharpe that Jenifer is spending most of his time in Annapolis as a member of the Committee of Safety, but intends to send Sharpe a letter by Governor Eden's means. Love proposes to sow his young orchard of 3 acres in wheat, and adds: "I study to do my duty as usual and to give no offence, so live in peace with all around me, which, in our present circumstances, is no small comfort. Indeed, throughout this neighborhood in general, we live on as good terms among ourselves as anywhere, I believe, in the Province. So agreeable a situation at this critical period, I often reflect

on with pleasure, and, gladly take every occasion of expressing my gratitude on that account, where it is so justly due. I now spend more time in reading and study than ever before, because I think it prudent to shun all mixed company at muster-fields or elsewhere. This is, in a manner, banishing myself from society; but acting with caution can never be attended with hurt. Upon this principle, I judged it prudent to decline accepting a commission from our Council of Safety to be chaplain to the battalion quartered at Annapolis. I had also other reasons of sufficient weight." He will not become a party man, and feels the Association is inconsistent with the resolve which exempts clergymen from bearing arms and, further, contradicts the oath of allegiance. Love will not desert his post, in which Sharpe had placed him, but will "do the duty of my parish as usual, and behave, in a time of such difficulty, with greater circumspection." There was a great stagnation in trade and, when he recently visited his brother in Baltimore, he found wheat down to 3/6, so that the farmers complain and threaten to mob the merchants. Dr. Stephenson lives at Deer Park. Love still hoped for peace and had declined to take passage home, because of his dread of seasickness and of the uncertainty of obtaining a living in England.

Our last letter from Love is dated November 1, 1779, and was sent Sharpe by the kindness of Mr. R. Johnston. Love wrote of Dr. Stephenson at Deer Park, of Ridout and his wife, who sometimes visit Milligan, and continued: "My health, for the past year and half, has been very indifferent. About that time, on account of my adhering to former attachments and refusing to qualify under the present test, I was obliged to leave my house, sell my furniture, &c. and have since been a wanderer and a vagabond, without home or habitation, besides paying a treble tax for what I formerly possessed, which this year amounts to £162. But no degree of suffering shall induce me to forsake my principles. I trust in God a change will come in his time, for which I wait with patience and submission. Whatever my circumstances are, I reflect with satisfaction the obligations I owe to your generosity."

So Love passes from our view. Sharpe's friend, Milligan, wrote him on May 12, 1779, introducing his son who was bound for London to study law at the Temple. "Your mare, the Maid of the Mill," Milligan said, "Mr. Ridout has carried back to the mill, where I hope she will breed more successfully, as she has only had two colts; one more than tolerable, the other yet bad, though both by high bred horses; the first by an imported horse and the other by a Traveller out of Col. Lloyd's running mare by Old Traveller."

"Although no friend you left here more ardently wishes your return, yet I hope it will not be, till you can bring better times with you. In such as the present, you are much better where you are, where, though some things may vex, many please and where you can have society not too much devoted to party which you would be difficulted to find here at present; but I hope you will do me the justice to believe that no party, time, or times has altered me from being most affectionately yours."

We next hear of Governor Sharpe in 1783, when by order of Major Jenifer, he sent grass seed to Maryland with directions as to the growing of Burnet rye grass, trefoil, rib grass and saint foin.

The correspondence transcribed closes with a brief note from Sharpe to Dr. Upton Scott in 1786 and a longer one from Dr. Scott to Governor Sharpe, written on March 17, 1786, advising Sharpe to speculate "in our government securities," rather "than in purchasing lands and negroes," as "the large importations of European goods have drained off most of the gold and silver." Scott had six venison hams from Fort Cumberland for Sharpe, but had not found any bear hams. Mrs. Scott and Mrs. Maynadier sent enclosed receipts for dressing calves heads and making catfish soup. Scott wrote of his impaired health. He had spent the winter in Annapolis but feared that his "resources will not admit continued residence in town."

"Our Assembly, after spending four months in warm bickerings, broke up last week. A vigorous attempt was made to remove the seat of government to Baltimore town and, although

ing our desires, the matter beeing as by the facultyes appeare wholly in his powre: now that the Ships are ready to goe with in 6 weeks from hence, our 3 men prepared for the journey and 6 or 7 families resolved to accompany Mr: Gilmett thether in pure zeale to that apostolical man, resolving to sett up theyr rests wher hee imployes his spiritual labours: It is come to that poynt that wee must eyther damnify notoriously the temporall estate of that Lord by depriving him of soe considerable an addition to his plantation as 6 or 7 families would make thereunto, (not one whereof will goe with out Mr. Gilmett) or else goe thether in vertue only of our owne facultyes, because the Count will not conferr the newe uppon any of ours indeavours who use all meanes possible not only to oppose the going thether which wee conceive to proceed out of the So^{ys} clergy in this businesse, but even to suppress and keep under the Temporal Lord of that Province that they may then have the more absolute rule and powre.

These are therefore humbly to beseech your Lordship to lett us know immediately your opinion whether wee may not in vertue of our owne facultyes goe thether and exercise the same over such subiects of our nation as shall ther voluntarily require our assistance in their spirituality; wherein most of our brethren heere conceive no manner of doubt more then in exercising the same facultyes at home. first because there are noe Bishops ther, secondly because our facultyes extend to all his mātyes dominions, how ever ther are noe more named then England etcet: thirdly beecause if his māty should goe with an army and conquer absolutely any nation ther could be noe doubt but the preists of that army might in vertue of the facultyes they have already without the grant of any newe, both heare the confessions of all the soules in that army how ever they wer out of England; and also reconcile to god as many of that other conquered nation as they could. nor is the case in question different only that heere his māty hath acquired a peaceable possession without armies, and thereby extended his dominions! whether wee see noe difficulty why the clergy beeing

called uppon may not (without special recourse to Rome or license thence) goe and exercise theyr functions setting aside the temporal motive they now have in this particular circumstance of beeing a meanes notably to advance the temporality of that Lord by going, and notably to damnify him temporally if they goe not, after so long an invitation, and so profitable a preparation bona fide made by them of his advancement, presuming ther could be noe difficulty in having men approved for the use of those facultyes which were graunted for a mission intended thether by His Holinesse of Secular Preists and now hindered by underhand practises of the So^y:

If therefore your Lordship please to approve heerof it is the clergyes humble sute at the instance of the Lord of that province, that you will vouchsafe your license to such of our brethren as are ready & willing to [go] thether, mainly to Mr Gilmett as Superiour and 2 more such as hee shall best like of out of 7 or 8 proposed unto him for his assistance in this service. and your Lordship is humbly desired to doe this with all speed possible because the ships are very shortly going home and those that are to go had need of all the time remayning to take leave of theyr frends heere, and to accomodate themselves for that voyage—

And many of our brethren are of opinion that when the Count sees the clergy is gon thither with their owne facultyes independent of him; he will soone send them order to exercise the newe ones and approve of such men for the use thereof as wee shall have sent thether: because it will bee more for his honor to have us ther dependent of him than independent; and it seemes (with men carryed agaynst us by the suggestions of our adversaries) wee must rather use our owne right as farr as we may, then sett expecting grace and favour from them which wee stand not in need of; insoemuch that many are of opinion it had been better for us never to have asked any newe facultyes at all but to have gon thether (being called to the harvest of our owne nation) in vertue of our owne facultyes. And indeed it seemes hard that the soules ther must bee limited only to

[the] So^r: for theyre confessors, wheras over all the woorld people have liberty to choose what confessors they please. besides the case is ther very special in regard the Governors find the So^r: to oppose them openly even in matters of temporalities and soe find it a kind of Tyrrany to bee obliged to use only them for government of theyr soules whoe in Temporalibus are at variance with them.

Thus your Lordship sees the whole state of this affayre. please I beseech you to oblige the Temporal Lord of that province (whoe yet dares not write himself in his owne affaire) and your humble servants the clergy heere by your speedy resolution herein: the rest is the thrice humble duty of my Lord

Your most Rd Lordships most
humble and devoted Servant

July 21
1642

F. H.

The enclosed comes I know not whence but sure it is for your Lordship.

[Addressed]

For my most Honored good Lord etct.

[Endorsed]

Gage about Marieland.

BALTIMORE'S DECLARATION TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS.

To the Right Hono^{ble} the Lords Comissioners for forreigne Plantations.

The humble Declaration of the Lord Baltemores proceedings in the procuring & passing of his Pattent of the Province of Maryland adioyning to Virginea, and of seuerall vniust molestations which some of the old dissolued Company of Virginea haue giuen him both before & since, to his great preiudice.

The L: Baltemores ffather having disbursed neare 20000£ besides the hazard of his own person in a Plantacoñ in New-foundland, a Countrey proving not habitable for the great colds in winter, And having thervpon transported himself, his wife, goods and family to Virginea wth intent to plant and reside there, where he had been an Adventurer, did for that purpose leaue his family there, and vpon his arriual in England, became an humble Sutor to his Ma^{tie} for that part of Virginea w^{ch} lyeth between the Riuer of Passamagnus and the p^rsent Plantacoñ of Virginea on James Riuer towards the South. The 20th of Feb. 1631, his Ma^{ty} referred the consideracoñ thereof to the right hono^{ble} the Earles of Dorsett & Carlisle, the Lo: Viscount Wentworth and the Lo: Cottington, or any three of them and their said L^{ops} having well weighed the said request, did 23 of Feb. 1631 signifie his Ma^{ties} pleasure to M^r Attorney Gencrall that then was, for drawing a Bill conteyning such a Grant to him and his heires, w^{ch} was so done by M^r Attorney, and his Ma^{ty} signed the same.

The matter being thus farr proceeded some of the old dissolued Company of Adventurers to Virginea, seeming discontented therewith, pretending that some of them the next yeare after determined to settle people on the South side of James Riuer, for the planting of Sugars, it being the most southerly and best part of all Virginea, and no other but that fitt for that purpose, and that

this Grant would much p^riudice them in this their designe, wth the late Lo: Baltemore conceauing they did really intend, was vnwilling to hinder so good a worke, or to disgust them or any other, as farr as in reason was fitt, though it were to his owne p^riudice; and therefore vpon his humble sute, his Ma^{ty} tooke the matter againe into consideracoⁿ, and made a new reference to the Earles of Arundell & Carlile, the Lo: Viscount Wentworth and Lo: Cottington, who considered not only of the said pretences, but also of the late ineroachment of the Dutch nation in those parts, who haue planted and fortified themselves northward between the old Colony of Virginea, and the English Colonie planted in New England. All w^{ch} being by their said Lo^{ps} represented to his Ma^{ty}, they did (according to his Ma^{ty} direcco^{ns}) by a Warrant vnder their hands dated in March following to M^r Attorney Gen^lall that they may declare his Royall pleasure to be that the said Lo: Baltemore should resigne his former Grant w^h was only passed his signature, and haue an other Grant of a tract of land lying a great way distant northward from the old Colony of Virginea. And accordingly a Bill was prepared, which passed the Priuy Seale, and then before it could passe the great Seale of England, the said Lo: Baltemore dyed.

After whose death, the now Lo: Baltemore became an humble suto^r to his Ma^{ty} for the continuance of his said royall favo^r and his Ma^{ty} gaue warrant dated 21 of Aprill next following to M^r Attorney Generall that then was, to draw a new Bill for the granting the said Lands to him & his heires, w^{ch} passed likewise the Priuy Seale.

Then some of the said old dissolued Company moued his Ma^{ty} for the stay of that Grant also, vpon pretence of promises by proclamacoⁿ and otherwise from his Ma^{ty} (since the dissolucoⁿ of the old Pattent of Virginea) for the reserving the old Companies right to all things formerly granted them in that Pattent excepting the Gouernment and for the renewing of their pattent to that purpose, within the limits whereof the Lo: Baltemores Countrey was included: and his Ma^{ty} vpon their great importunity, againe referred the matter, as they desired to the late Lo: Treasurer and the Earles of Dorsett & Carlile, who heard both

parties and all matters that are now in question before yo^r Lo^{ps} were then at full heard & considered of, and p^ticularly that of Capt. Clayborne's p^rtences to the Island whercon he is lately planted, was much insisted vpon by S^r John Wostenholme. But it then appearing to their Lo^{ps} first, that their old Pattent was legally dissolued, not only to the point of Gouvernment, as they pretended, but to all other purposes whatsoever, and that consequently the Countrey formerly granted them, was wholly in the Kings hands to dispose of, and that those promises w^{ch} they pretended from his Ma^{tie} by his said proclamation and otherwise were not to reserue to the company any incorporate right, or to renew their Corporacoⁿ (w^{ch} his Ma^{ty} is so farr from promising therein to doe) in any kind whatsoever, as for the reasons therein alleadged, he rather declares his intencoⁿ then to be directly contrary; but to confirme only euery p^ticular mans propriety & right to any Plantacon w^{ch} any had settled there, or assignm^{ts} of land made vnto them during the time of the said Companies Pattent being in force, when any of them should desire it, as may appeare by the Proclamacoⁿ; and it being also at that tyme made appeare vnto their Lo^{ps} that although the tract of land then intended to the Lo: Baltemore, were within the lymits of the old Companies Pattent, yet that it did not infringe or trench vpon any such plantacon or assignement as aforesaid; Excepting in one part of a Peninsula containd within the said Grant, w^{ch} part of the Peninsula was therefore afterwards excepted out of his Grant: and that Capt: Cleyborne about the time of passing the said Grant w^{ch} was many yeares after the dissolucon of the said Companies pattent, had without any legall authority deriued from his Ma^{ty}; seated himself in an Island where now he is, withiu the Bay of Cheasepeack (w^{ch} is within the p^rcinets of the Lo: Baltemores pattent) and aboue 100 miles northward distant from James Riuer, the p^rsent scituacoⁿ of the old Colony of Virginea, of purpose to remoue himself farr from all gouernment, being euer obserued to be a man of a factious spirit, as did appeare by many of his former actions; their Lo^{ps} therevpon againe made certificate vnder their hands to his Ma^{ty} dated 5 of June 1632 that they thought fitt that the said last Grant should passe to the now Lo: Baltemore &

his heires, excepting only a great part of the Peninsula aforesaid whereon some of the old Colony had long before planted themselves during the time of the old Companies pattent being in force, and accordingly a new warrant from his Ma^{ty} dated 7 of June following, was directed to M^r. Attorney Generall that then was, to alter his Grant in that point, and to prepare a new Grant of all the rest wth that exceptiō only; w^{ch} passed the great Seale of England, it being not a fortith part of the Territory belonging to Virginea, as may appeare by the Cards & Mapps of those Countreys if yo^r Lo^{ps} please to peruse them.

After all w^{ch} the yeare following the Lo: Baltemore having to his great charge, made p^rparation of Shippes and provisions for the transportaciō of people to begin a plantaciō in the said Countrey so granted vnto him; some of the old dissolved Company, a little before the going forth of the said Shippes, being transported with Spleene (as he conceiues he hath reason to doubt) and of purpose to molest him in his proceedings, well knowing how p^riudiciall a litle delay would bee vnto him at that time, againe p^rferred a declaraciō to yo^r Lo^{ps} of the p^rtended iniuries done vnto them by the said Grant, formerly so much debated & considered of as aforesaid, and hoping at last (as it seemes) to advantage themselves by importunity and multitudes, they brought 30 or 40 of their Company before yo^r Lo^{ps} and all matters formerly considered of, concerning that busines, were then againe debated of at large; and p^rticulerly that of Cleybornes pretences to the Island wherein he is, was againe much insisted upon, in their declaraciō, as by the Copy of it, will appeare: and when they were out of hope of overthrowing the said Grant, then did they moue, that at least they might haue an independant liberty of Trade wth the Indians within his precincts, well knowing the preiudice w^{ch} they should do him if they obtained that liberty; but it then appearing to yo^r Lo^{ps} as well the weaknes of their former p^rtences in other things, as likewise the iniustice & great inconueniency of this last motion of theirs: ffirst, in that it was the Lo: Baltemores right by his pattent and the only p^rsent benefitt, (though small and not likely to be permanent), that was probable to be made, towards the defraying of part of the great charge of the Plantacon, and therefore

neither in iustice nor equity fitt that any others who did not contribute to the planting of the Countrey, should deprive him of it. Secondly in that it was very inconvenient & dangerous for him and his plantacoñ to pmitt it, because thereby he should giue those who were not well affected to his plantacoñ, and whom he had noe power to regulate, a meanes to spoile the markt of that Trade, as likewise to pick quarrells, and doe iniuries to those Indians who were Neighbo^{rs} to his plantacoñ, and who would be apt to revenge vpon his Planters all such wrongs done them, when those who did them were gone, the Indians making no difference between them being all of one Nation; Yo^r Lo^{ps} therevpon thought fitt by an Order at the Starr chamber 3. of July 1633 to dismisse the busines, and to leaue the L: Baltemore to the right of his Pattent.

All w^{ch} iust and faire proceedings in the passing of w^{ch} pattent ought to haue been sufficient (as is humbly conceiued) to debarr any man from any further importunity in opposing his Ma^{ty}s gracious Act vnder the great Seale of England, so advisedly & considerately done, especially there having been really no such promises made by his Royall Proclamacon aforesaid, as could any way either in hono^r or otherwise oblige him to forbear to make such a Grant vnto the Lo: Baltemore: But only were and are suggested by them either meerly to p^riudice and molest his good endeavo^{rs} for the enlargment of his Ma^{ty}s Empire in those parts; or for some other ends besides planting: ffor if their intentions in this their importunity to haue their Corporation renewed, were and are meerly to haue power thereby to plant, any of them hath might and may yet, without pressing for any such thing, haue Land enough assigned them for that purpose, from his Ma^{ty}s Gouverno^r and Councell in Virginea, as many others, both old and new Plant^{rs} and Adventurers, from time to time, since the dissolution of the old Company haue had, and dayly haue, and vpon as good conditions as any perticular person of them either had or could haue had, when they were in an incorporated Body; there being more Land vnplanted and vndisposed of then them those many yeares, and such land as is more southerly

and better then that w^{ch} is granted to the Lo: Baltemore; w^{ch} particular assignem^{ts} also, his Ma^{ty} no doubt would afterwards be pleased to confirme vnto any of them as they should reasonably desire, and as he was graciously pleased to promise, by his said Proclamacon, to those who had any plantacon seated, or any assignement of Land there, during the time of the old Corpora^{ti}on. But uone of those, who haue so much troubled his Ma^{ty} and yo^r Lo^{ps} in this busines, haue any Plantacon or people settled in Virginea, neither haue any of them begun any plantacon for Sugars on the South parts of Virginea, as some of them vpon the late Lo: Baltemore's first Grant of that part, above menconed (w^h is now 3 yeares since), p^rtended very earnestly to doe, or done any thing els since, concerning the plantacon of Virginea, but importuned his Ma^{ty} and yo^r Lo^{ps} for the renewing of their Corporacon, and raysed trouble both here and there ag^t the Lo: Baltemore and his Plantation.

Now for as much as the said Grant was made vpon such mature deliberation, vpon so many seuerall references, warrants and certificates (the Copies whereof are ready to be shown vnto yo^r Lo^{ps}).

And for as much as the said Lo: Baltemore hath therevpon disbursed by himselfe and his friends aboue tenn thousand pounds for the settling of a Colony of his Ma^{ty}s Subiects in the said Countrey, having sent two of his Brothers thither (one of whom he hath since lost vpon the place) and having seated already aboue two hundred people there. Hee humbly beseecheth yo^r Lo^{ps} to the end he may be no further vniustly molested by any of the old dissolued Company of Virginea, but may peaceably & quietly enioy his Ma^{ty}s gracious Grant vnto him, and the right, w^{ch} he (in confidence thereof) hath since so deerly bought by the expence of so great sumes of money, the loss of one of his Brothers and severall others of his freinds, and many other troubles w^{ch} he hath since vndergone, in the prosecution of it. That yo^r Lo^{ps} would be pleased vpon these considerations; To make a finall Order that the old dissolued Company of Virginea shall be heard no more in their said vniust p^rtences against his

Pattent, because the often questioning of his right, though it be vpon vniust grounds, doth much p^riudice him in his proceedings; Nor that any other order do passe from this Hono^{ble} Board w^{ch} may p^riudice his right or cause any suites in Law between them; ffor that would much endanger the overthrow of his Plantation, which is now in a good forwardnes to perfection, and consequently his and many of his freinds vtter ruine; in respect that the greatest part of their fortunes are therevpon engaged.

FRENCH FORTS IN 1755.

A Journal descriptive of some of the French Forts, had from Thomas Forbes, lately a Private Soldier, in the King of France's Service:—

January 1755

About a year & half ago, I with 120 Private Soldiers & our officers embarked in Old France for Canada.

Our Vessel was a Frigate of 40 guns & another Frigate of 30 guns sailed at the same time, with a Company of Soldiers to relieve the Garrison at the mouth of the Mississippi.

After a short voyage we disembarked at Quebeck, where we were permitted to stay 3 weeks to refresh ourselves.

The regular Troops in that City did not exceed 300, but I was told there were many Parties & Detachments quartered up and down the Country, all around that place.

Being joined by a Company of 50 Men from that Garrison we went in Bateaus to Montreal, under the Command of Lieut. Cargueville, & there we spent the last winter.

At our arrival there was a Company of 50 men in the City, where [we] were quartered, so that in all we made 220, exclusive of Officers.

Very early in the Spring we were joined by near 400 more,

who were drafted out of the several Companies that garrisoned the Forts, & were posted on the Frontiers of Canada.

Easter Tuesday we embarked to the number of 600 or 700, in about 300 Batteaus & Canoes (not barken) & took with us a large Quantity of Barrelled Pork & Meal in Baggs; the Baggs weighed 60^{lb} or 70^{lb} each, & I believe there might have been 1500 of them; how many of the Pork there were I never heard nor could I guess, but I believe the Canoes that were not laden with Flour carried 5 or 6 Barrells at least each of them, & the Batteaus received 18 or 20.

We were three weeks going from Montreal to Lake Ontario keeping the Shore close on board, because of the rapidity of the Stream, & at night we went ashore, excepting a few that were left with the Canoes, that were fastened to Stakes or Trees on the Shore.

Then we had our Biscuit, which was laid in for the Voyage, delivered to us, with 1^{lb} of Pork to each, & kindling large Fires, we cook'd our Provisions for next day, & slept round the Fires, each of us being provided with a Blanket.

We kept along the South East shore of Ontario Lake, & passed so near to the English Fort called Conquen or Oswego, that we could talk to the Centinels.

When we came to the Fort at the Falls of Niagara, we landed all our Provisions, in which service the Garrison at the Fort assisted & carried them on Sleds, that were there at the Fort to a little Log House (called le petit Fort de Niagara) three Leagues beyond Niagara Fort, where we put them aboard other Batteaus & Canoes that were there ready to receive them.

At our arrival at Niagara, there were at that Fort 25 private men, commanded by Lieut. de la Parrie but Mr. Contracure was also there in the Fort, & had the chief Command, there was also a Scjeant's Guard at the little Fort.

The Fort at Niagara is no more than an Eminence surrounded with Stockades or Palisades, which stand about 14 Feet above the Ground very close together, & are united or fastened together by three pieces of long Scantling, that is put transversely on the

Inside at the Distance of three Feet or so from each other. These Stockadoes inclose an area near 300 Paces square on which is built an house for the Commandants, Barracks for the Men, & a Smiths Shop; it is not rendered defensible by any outwork or even a Ditch & there are not mounted in it more than four Swivel Guns.

As soon as we had put our Provisions on board at the little Fort, that I mentioned, we proceeded to Lake Erie with Cap^t Contracure, who had himself now taken the Command of all the Troops in the Canoes: we kept along the Eastern Coast of Lake to Fort Prisquille, which I apprehend is about 50 Leagues from Niagara, this Fort is situated on a little rising Ground at a very small Distance from the water of Lake Erie, it is rather larger than that at Niagara, but has likewise no Bastions or Outworks of any Sort; Tis a Square Area inclosed with Logs about 12 Feet high, the Logs being squared, & laid on each other, & not mor than 16 or 18 inches thick. Cap^t Darpontine commanded in this Fort & his Garrison was Thirty private men.

We were 8 days employed in unloading our Canoes here & carrying the Provisions to Fort Bocuff, which is about 6 Leagues from Fort Prisquille at the head of Buffaloe River.

This Fort was composed of four Houses built by way of Bastions & the intermediate Space stockaded; L^t S^t Blain was posted here with 20 Men; here we found three large Batteaus, & between 200 or 300 Canoes which we freighted with Provisions & proceeded down the Buffaloe river, which flows into the Ohio at about 20 Leagues (as I conceive) distance from Fort au Boeuff, this River was small & at some places very shallow; so that we towed the Canoes sometimes wading, & sometimes taking ropes to the Shore a great part of the way.

When we came into the Ohio we had a fine deep water and a Stream in our Favour, so that we rowed down that from the mouth of the Buffaloe to Du Quisne Fort, on Mongehela, which I take to be 70 Leagues, in four days & an half.

At our Arrival at Fort Du Quisne we found the Garrison busily employed in compleating that Fort, & stockadoeing it

round at some Distance for the Security of the Soldiers Barracks (against any Surprise) which was built between the Stockadoes & the Glacis of the Fort. Fort du Quisne is built Square, Logs transversely placed as is frequent in Mill Dams, & the Interstices filled up with Earth; The Length of the Logs is about 16 Feet which is the thickness of the Rampart, There is a Parapet raised on the Rampart of Logs, & the Length of the Curtains is about 30 Feet & the Demigorge of the Bastions about 80, The Fort is surrounded on the two Sides that do not front the water, with a Ditch, about 12 feet wide & very deep, because there being no Covert way the Musquetteers fire from thence having a glacis before them.

When the News of Ensign Jumouvilles Defeat reached us our Force consisted of about 1,400, Seven Hundred of whom were ordered out under the command of Cap^t Mercier to attack Mr. Washington; after our return from the Meadows a great Number of the Soldiers who had been labouring at the Fort, all the Spring, were sent off, in Divisions to the several Forts between that and Canada; and some of those that came down last, were sent away to build a Fort somewhere on the head of the Ohio, so that in October the Garrison at Du Quisne was reduced to 400 Men who had Provisions enough at the Fort to last them two Years, notwithstanding a good deal of the Flour we brought down in the Spring proved to be damaged, & some of it spoiled by the rains that fell at that time.

In October last, I had an opportunity of relieving myself & retiring. There were not then any Indians with the French but a considerable Number were expected, & said to be on their March thither.

MORE ABOUT REV. SAMUEL KNOX.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

Some interesting additional information as to this important figure in Maryland's educational history was published in this *Magazine* for September, 1907 (vol. 2, no. 3, p. 285). Since then I have learned of several additional titles to be placed in Mr. Knox's bibliography, viz. :

- 1—A discourse on the present state of education in Maryland, Dec. 31, 1807. Baltimore, 1808, p. 28.
- 2—A Compendious system of rhetoric. Baltimore, 1809.
- 3—A discourse in the 2nd Presbyterian Church. Baltimore, 1812.
- 4—Discourse delivered in the First Baptist Church on Jan. 12, 1815, a day recommended by the president as a day of fasting and prayer, pp. 40. Baltimore, 1815.
- 5—A second edition of An Essay on the best system of liberal education. Frederick, printed by Samuel Barnes, 1826.

The first three of these items are contained in the Library of Congress and the last two, in the T. Harrison Garrett Collection.

A fuller description of the items in the Library of Congress is as follows :

1) "A discourse on the present state of Education in Maryland: delivered before the Honorable the General Assembly on Thursday the 31st. of December, 1807 by Samuel Knox, A. M. Principal of Baltimore College. Prov. 22d. & 6th. Train up a child in the way he should go ; And, when he is old, he will not depart from it. Baltimore. Printed by Warner & Hanna, 1808, 8vo. pp. 28." In this discourse Knox sets out to prove that "the proper Education of Youth is the command of God: the dictate of nature ; and the best foundation for the just observance of those Laws which are necessary for the well being of society." The most of the sermon deals with the last point. Knox emphasizes

the importance of education on a "liberal scale" and says "we are apt to limit our views of education to too contracted a scale, restricting it merely to the attainment of a few useful branches for the purposes of business; and leaving out the progressive culture of the mind: and all that discipline which tends to enlarge and invigorate its noblest powers." He advocates a general system of education and denies "that the poorer description of citizens in Maryland want a suitable education more than the rich: and the remote or least populous parts of the state more than the thriving village or crowded city." On the other hand, he asserts that the "opulent citizens of our state, generally considered, want a proper or suitable education more than the poor," and that the "poorer description of citizens have a more correct taste and just sense of a proper education than the most wealthy, whose "little masters and misses are generally employed, from the age of five to fifteen years, in dancing and dressing, and fiddling and trifling, to the frequent interruption, and in some instances, total exclusion of the more exalted culture of the understanding." He speaks of an institution (probably St. John's College), "which our state had placed at the head of public instruction" and which formerly "promised a distinguished sphere of usefulness" but which has been "shorn of its honors and emoluments, and like the departing sun" is "sinking fast into a darkening atmosphere of neglect and oblivion." Another institution (St. Mary's University?) had "obtained a very liberal support from many of the most wealthy and influential in its vicinity and elsewhere. Yet within the walls of that institution, no poor man's son, or of those in moderate circumstances, can enter as a student." This fact should exclude the institution from "legislative sanction and exclusive privilege." Another college institution in Baltimore, that over which Knox presided, had been established to "encourage an advanced system of education, on terms accommodated to those in moderate circumstances." Knox pleaded, at some length, for an appropriation from the State to Baltimore College, as a proper object of legislative bounty. He points to the benefits which have been derived

from Nassau Hall, at Princeton in New Jersey, as a proof of what may be expected from such institutions. "In all our most respectable public establishments of education, the youth of all descriptions of citizens should, as much as possible, be brought up together."

2) "A Compendious System of Rhetoric; arranged in a catechetical Form; and abstracted from Blair, Holmes, Stirling, &c., and the best authors on that art, by Samuel Knox, A.M., Principal of Baltimore College. 'Quicquid praecipies esto brevis.' Hor. Baltimore: Printed for the author by Swain & Matchett. 1809. 12mo. pp. 130." Preface dated Baltimore College Sept. 19, 1809, states that the "compend is designed chiefly for the use of the students" in that college, and that Rhetoric is the quintessence "of all that is excellent of Belle Lettre, or classical and literary composition." Supplementary examples of a theme in Latin and in Greek are given, as are Stirling's rhyming "Definitions of the Tropes and Figures in Rhetoric" and a table of "Names of the Tropes and Figures with their Derivation and Meaning."

3) "A Discourse Delivered in the 2d. Presbyterian Church in the City of Baltimore, On Thursday, the 20th. of August, 1812, being the day appointed by the President of the United States, for national humiliation and prayer; together with the other purposes recommended in his proclamation. Published by particular request of the Military Corps that attended on that occasion; and several respectable members, also, of the Congregation. By Samuel Knox, A.M., Principal of Baltimore College. 'Trust ye in the Lord Jehovah, forever, For in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.' Baltimore. Printed by William Warner, 1812. 8vo. 32 p." (Prefatory note by James Horton, Capt. Md. Chasseurs, dated Aug. 22, requesting publication of the discourse.) It treats: 1) upon "what is implied by trusting in God, especially, as applied to a nation"; 2) upon "the grounds on which, as a state or nation, we should cherish this Trust in Jehovah"; He regrets the degeneracy of the people "from the first principles of the Fathers of this nation" and defends the war with England

as righteous. 3) upon the "propriety and importance of cherishing such a trust in God, as our indispensable duty;" and, lastly, there is found "some improvement of the subject, suited to the present occasion"; urging vigor in prosecution of the war and patriotic support of the policy of the Federal Government.

PARTY OF ACADIANS WHO SAILED FROM THE POTOMAC, BOUND FOR THE MISSISSIPPI.

In my article on 'The Acadians (French Neutrals) transported to Maryland,' published in the *Magazine*, March, 1908, I quote the entry in the clearance book kept at Annapolis, for the Schooner *Virgin*, Thomas Farrold, Master, bound for the Mississippi with 200 passengers and their baggage.

I have recently found an account of a second vessel bound from Maryland to the Mississippi carrying French Neutrals. It is contained in "A Tour in the United States of America; containing an Account of the Present Situation of the Country," by J. F. D. Smyth, Esq., London, 1784.

The master of the vessel is stated to be a brother (unnamed) of the owner of the vessel, Athanasius Ford, of Leonard Town, St. Mary's County. The books of the Potomac district are not available, possibly not in existence, but we know from parish records that Athanasius Ford lived in St. Mary's County at this period.

BASIL SOLLERS.

During the time I was at New Orleans, a gentleman from Maryland, who had fallen, by a very unfortunate accident, into the hands of the Spaniards in New Mexico, and with several other British subjects had been most cruelly treated by them, arrived there.

Having at length obtained his liberty, for he had been a considerable time very rigidly confined, he came to New Orleans, to endeavour to procure a passage either to Virginia, Maryland, or Philadelphia.

This gentleman, descended from a Roman Catholic family in Maryland, was master of a vessel belonging to his brother Athanasius Ford, of Leonard Town, in St. Mary's County, and had sailed from the river Potowmack, loaded with the French Neutrals (as they were called), who had been removed from Nova-Scotia by the British government on account of their strong predilection to the French interest there, which at every risk they were always ready to promote and support.

The vessel was navigated by British sailors, and was bound to the Mississippi, in order to carry these French Accadians to their countrymen there, where they intended to settle.

But having got into the trade-winds, and being unacquainted with the navigation of that part of the gulf of Mexico, after having been reduced to the greatest distress for want of provisions, their whole stock being exhausted for some time, having subsisted on the rats, cats, and even all the shoes and leather in the vessel, they ran into Bernard's bay, and landed at the mouth of Rio de la Norte, or Rio Grande, in the Kingdom or province of New Mexico, instead of the Mississippi.

Happening to discover a horse, immediately after their coming on shore, they killed him for food, which was certainly very excusable in their emaciated, starving condition.

They had scarce finished their wretched repast, when the vessel was seized on by the Spaniards, and confiscated for the use of the King ; and they were carried, most of them to the town of New Mexico, and some to Santa Fé, the capital, no less than eighty-six days journey within land from the place where they came on shore on this inhospitable coast.

Here they were all closely confined for some time.

But at length the common people were permitted to go at large, in the day, on condition of their labouring for the inhabitants.

Yet the officers belonging to the vessel, as well as all the

English sailors, were still imprisoned with the most rigid and barbarous severity.

However they were also offered a limited enlargement, on condition of their signing a paper, written in the Spanish language, which however they privately contrived to obtain a translation of, and found it contained an acknowledgment on their part of having been guilty of the most unjustifiable and aggravated crimes, and of being treated with the greatest humanity and tenderness during this their captivity.

This they had the resolution and virtue of refusing to subscribe to, although they were actually in danger of starving and perishing for want of necessary food.

At length a priest, possessed of more humanity than the rest of the barbarous inhabitants of that country, having called to visit them, took compassion on their extreme wretchedness, made them a present of a fat bullock every day, and interested himself so effectually for them as to obtain their enlargement.

But so numerous were this man's flocks of cattle, as well as of horses, that although these poor unfortunate creatures received above a hundred oxen from him, yet they could not be missed out of the whole flock.

For it seems the land there is not overgrown with woods, as in the rest of America, but is universally a rich meadow, abounding with the finest grass in the world, and interspersed here and there with clumps or clusters of tall and stately trees.

FINENESS OF SILVER DOLLAR.

[An Official Paper, dated December 9th, 1791, of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, given to Senator John Henry of Maryland, in reference to the quantity of fine silver contained in the silver dollar.

The original paper is in the handwriting of the Hon. Alexander Hamilton and is now in the possession of J. Winfield Henry of Baltimore, a great grandson of Governor John Henry.]

COPY.

The Secretary of the Treasury not relying entirely on the accuracy of the data upon which the calculations in his Report on the subject of the Mint were founded, as they respect the quantity of fine silver contained in the silver dollar, thought it advisable to embrace the opportunity of the interval between the last and the present sessions of Congress to endeavour to obtain from Europe more certain information on the point.

The result has been—He first received from Amsterdam an account of the Standard of the new M. dollar which is almost the only one in circulation according to the regulations of the Spanish Mint.

This account States

1st as to weight, That there are 913 to 914 dollars in 100 marcs, or 791 ounces aveirdupois.

Consequently on the computation of 913 to 100	dwt.	grs	
marcs each dollar would weigh	-	-	- 17 - 7 $\frac{785}{913}$

On computation of 914 to 100 Marcs	-	-	17 - 7 $\frac{370}{914}$
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2nd As to the standard—That it is 258 parts fine to 30 alloy

	dwt.	gr.	
Consequently a dollar of 17 - 7 $\frac{785}{913}$			would contain of fine silver - 372 $\frac{494}{913}$

"	a dollar of 17 - 7 $\frac{370}{914}$		would contain of ditto - - 372 $\frac{370}{914}$
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It is ascertained that it was formerly usual at the Spanish Mint to allow a remedy of weight and alloy of $\frac{2}{288}$ parts.

If the remedy continues, the quantity of fine silver in
 a dollar of the first description above would be - 369 $\frac{597}{913}$
 In a dollar of the second description " " - 369 $\frac{228}{914}$

But he afterwards received a return of an actual assay at the Mint of Amsterdam which states the dollar at 258 parts fine to 30 parts alloy in exact conformity to the Standard of the Spanish Mint as before given and exclusive of all allowance for Remedy.

According to which a dollar would actually contain of
 fine silver - - - - - 372 $\frac{494}{913}$
 or, 372 $\frac{370}{914}$.

Three conjectures arise—either that the Account given as conformable to the legal standard of the Spanish Mint was not just, but was predicated upon the result of assays at the Mint of Amsterdam, or that being so conformable the remedy formerly allowed at the Spanish Mint has ceased, Or that the Assay at the Mint of Amsterdam was not perfectly accurate.

There has been also received the result from assay at the Mint of London which makes the Standard of the Spanish Dollar 5172 parts fine to 588 parts alloy.

According to which a silver dollar weighing 17 $7\frac{785}{913}$
 would contain of fine Silver - - - - 373 $\frac{376}{913}$
 a dollar weighing - - - - 17 $7\frac{370}{914}$ 372 $\frac{913}{914}$

Here is a small difference which indicates a difference of accuracy in the assays, or a difference in the pieces assayed arising from errors in the Spanish Mint.

The two statements from Amsterdam seem entitled to most confidence not only because there is a correspondency between them, but because there are some marks of inaccuracy in the proceedings at the Mint of London. It is stated in the body of the certificate that the gross weight of the Dollar is presumed to be 17 dwt., 10 Grains and in the Margin it is mentioned as certain that the average is 17 dwt. 8 Grains.

The latter however is the truth or very near it, according to the trials in large masses made at the Banks of N. America & New York, but the cashier of the former bank seems to be of opinion that for a time the dollar rather gains in weight from the dirt which adheres to it, though in the course of a long circulation it loses.

Philadelphia, December 9, 1791

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Secy. of the Treasury.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

Boston 18th June 1770

Dear Bob

I received your favor of the 31st of March last, and am the more obliged to you for it as it was wrote at a time when, (as poor Brian Philpot used to say) your head must have been full of proclamations. Sickness, of which I have had more in this cold climate then I ever had in all the rest of my life, has been the chief cause of my not having answered it sooner.

I will now proceed according to your desire to give you a short account of the bloody affair that happened here, trusting that my veracity and candor may yet weigh more with some few of my friends, than the shameful misrepresentations of an infamous newspaper. Ever since the arrival of His Majesty's Troops here they have been treated more like dogs than men by the Towns-people, and of course, notwithstanding the strictest discipline, many quarrels have arisen between them in which the soldiers were generally seized by some popular magistrate, thrown into Goal, and punished with the utmost severity of the Law, without the commanding officer having it in his power to prevent it. On the Saturday before the Monday on which this affair happened, a soldier was insulted by some Journeymen Rope-

makers in a Rope-walk, and he calling some brother soldiers from a neighbouring Barrack the affair became general and a bloody battle ensued, but the sergeants soon interposed and drove the soldiers home to their quarters which the Rope-makers took for a compleat victory, who began the renewment of the battle on the Monday evening following. I cannot say with any certainty, but it was currently reported long before it happened, that they were to take it out that evening and every Townsman seemed to be armed with a club; however be that as it will, the people became so indiscreet as to go and insult the Centry who was placed at The Custom-house, and surrounded him so closely that he was obliged to call to the Main-guard for assistance upon which Cap^t. Preston took a file of Grenadiers and went over himself with a design to prevent mischief rather than be the occasion of it, as he is one of the most inoffensive and best esteemed officer in the whole Garrison, but notwithstanding all his intreaties the mob still continued to pelt the soldiers and to aggravate them to the highest degree, frequently calling to them to Fire if they dared, until at last a Grenadier having received a blow which staggered him, upon recovering himself he discharged his piece amongst them and was instantly followed by most of the rest, without the Captain's orders as he most solemnly protests, and as will I believe appear upon the Trial. The Mob sometime before the firing had set all the bells aringing in order to raise the whole Town and all the streets for some hours were full of armed men, but the two regiments being now under Arms and the officer and his party having delivered themselves up, the people thought proper to go quietly home. The number killed and wounded, you will have learnt by the papers, being almost the only truth in them as also the inglorious Capitulation made the day after by which His Majesty's Troops were obliged to quit the Town with circumstances of the highest disgrace, and for which it is generally thought here the advisers and consenters thereto will hereafter be called to an account. Thus have I given you a faithful detail of this unhappy affair, and though I think I have as much humanity as any man, and am by no means a friend to military power, yet

I have always held it a Maxim that in a civilized Governm^t the the lives of an hundred such mobbing Spirits as we are in daily and nightly fear of here, are not to be set in competition with the life of one single honest and peaceable subject. You will shew this letter to none but our friends Stenhouse &c^a as probably others will pay little credit to it.

You were mistaken in supposing I was uneasy at a certain piece of intelligence, but I will say more on this subject in my next, in the mean time I remain with my best respects to your Spouse and all the good family at Newington, Dear Bob

Your affectionate friend

Dan^l Chamier Jun^r

LETTER OF ALEXANDER McKIM TO MISS —.

Fredk^s 2^d July 1781, Monday

Dear Miss :

From Alexandria where my last was dated, we proceeded on slowly to this place, where we arrived last night. We go on slowly, the weather being very warm, and it would not do to bring our horses tired and jaded to camp, for they will have bad keeping and little rest there, as the Marquis is in great want of Cavalry. Our business at camp is to reconnoitre the enemy's motions, carry intelligence, and attack the enemy when thrown into confusion, etc.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I am perfectly well, and that I do comply with the requisition of the Gov^r. and Council most cheerfully. This spirit, I believe, is pretty general throughout the Troop. We rest to refresh our horses to-day, to-morrow we shall go forward. When we get to camp you may perhaps not hear from me often for want of conveniency to write : but it is my intention to let you hear from me as often as I can.

I believe I forgot to mention to you that we were joined by and do march with the Troop from Frederick Town, about equal to ours in number.

Cornwallis is on the retreat; and his movements indicate a design of leaving this State. There was a smart skirmish last Tuesday between their cavalry and our infantry and riflemen. The British had about sixty killed, and upwards of one hundred wounded; we only eight killed and twenty wounded. The reason of this was that about 400 of our riflemen concealed behind a fence gave them two heavy fires before the enemy could do them any damage.

Request that Thoney deliver all the letters herewith sent immediately. Should you write me, please send your letters to care of Mess^{rs} Hood & H. at Alex^a, they will forward them. This unless you meet with an immediate opportunity to camp. I should be particularly happy to hear of R. M. get^s home. My comp^{ts} wait on all friends. I am, etc.

ALEX. MCKIM.

N. B. We have experienced no inconveniency in the soldier's life yet, except that our horses have not fared quite so well as we could wish.

LIST OF OUTLAWRIES, WESTERN SHORE.

I Thomas Brooke Hodgkin Clerk of the General Court of the Western Shore of the State of Maryland do hereby certify that at May Term 1780 the following Persons were outlawed for High Treason by Judgments of Court, to wit—

Robert Alexander	Richard William Parkin
Patrick Kennedy	John Lynch
William Smith	Henry Stevenson
Edward Carnes	John Christie
Robert Christie	and James Hall

And also that the following Persons were presented for High Treason at May Term 1781 and the Actions were Struck off at May Term 1782, to wit,

Jonathan Boucher	Henry Addison	William Edmiston
John Montgomery	Bennett Allen	Anthony Stewart
Daniel Dulany	Daniel Dulany	Lloyd Dulany
of Dan ^l	of Walter	Henry Riddle
Philip Key	Daniel Addison	Charles Gordon
Thomas French	George Chalmers	Nathaniel Richardson
George Howard	Leigh Master	
David Carcand	and Daniel Stevenson	

The following Persons were also Indicted at Oct^r Term 1781 for High Treasons but the Actions were Struck off at October Term 1783, to wit,

David Bryan	John Hayman
Joseph McFadon	and John Adams

In Testimony that the foregoing are true Copies from the Records of Proceedings of the General Court I have hereto set my Hand and Seal of Office this 23rd day of December Anno Domini 1784

Tho^s B. Hodgkin Ck.

MARYLAND TROOPS IN WAR OF REVOLUTION.

May 14th 1782 Number and State of the Troops raised in Maryland from the Year 1776 down to the present Time viz.

1776 1 st Regiment inclusive of Serjeants Corporals drummers & Fifers	720
7. Independent Companies	756
2. Artillery Companies	212

The above Troops were enlisted during the War upon the State Establishment the two first Corps served during the Campaign of 1776, were in October incorporated as the first and second Maryland Regiments and re-entered for three years upon the Continental Establishment.

The Maryland part of the Rifle and German Regiments four Companies in each Consisting of Seventy four Men Serjeants Corporals drummers and Fifers inclusive 592

1777 Five additional Regiments viz: 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7 on an Average 300 1500

The Artillery Companies were assigned as part of the Maryland quota and re-entered upon the Continental Establishment and the following year were incorporated in the first Continental or Harrisons Regiment of Artillery to be kept up by the States of Maryland and Virginia.

1778 The Regiments were filled principally by draughts for nine Months but there were some Recruits. The transaction being within the State I cannot ascertain the number forwarded under the latter description but out of the draughts there were enlisted that Year near or quite 200 which kept the Regiments for the first Brigade pretty formidable.

1779 I do not recollect that we received any Recruits

1780 In this Spring the Maryland line consisting of 1200 Rank and File and full complement of Commissioned and non-Commissioned Officers for the seven Regiments was ordered to Carolina where it was greatly reduced by Actions and Casualties, the latter part of the Summer about Seventy recruits joined.

1781 There were near 700 Recruits raised and forwarded

1782 There has been since March about two Hundred Men recruited.

Exclusive of the above Corps the State sustained very Capital losses in the Flying Camp and other bodies of Militia which occasionally marched out afterwards. She has also been much imposed on by draughts of Men raised by Officers in detached Corps, the Major part of which her Quota has not been credited for. *Vide* State of the Troops and Representation made to the Assembly.

SEWALL FAMILY.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

A very full genealogy of the Sewalls of New England and of the English ancestors of the family is given in Massachusetts Historical Collections, 5th Series, vol. v, pp. xvi-xviii. It is based largely on the work of the distinguished genealogist, the late Col. Joseph L. Chester, and has been freely utilized in the present genealogy. See also *Magazine* i, 190.

1. WILLIAM SEWALL¹ or SHEWEL, who married Matilda daughter of Reginald Horne of Pikesley in Shropshire, is the earliest ancestor of this family that has as yet been traced. The fact of his marriage is set forth in the Horne pedigree entered at the Visitation of Shropshire in 1623 (Harleian Society, vol. 28, p. 260), and also at the Visitation of Warwickshire in 1619 (*ibid.* vol. 12, p. 343). William Sewall and Matilda (Horne) his wife had issue :—
 2. i. HENRY SEWALL² b. about 1544; d. 16 April 1628.
 - ii. WILLIAM SEWALL, Vintner, Mayor of Coventry in 1617; will dated 29 June 1624, proved 11 Sept. 1624. He married Ann (probably Wagstaffe) who died 20 Dec. 1609 aged 46, and was buried at St. Michael's, Coventry. They had three daughters all living in 1624.
2. HENRY SEWALL² (*William*¹) was born about 1544, died 16 April 1628 aged 84 years, and was buried in St. Michael's Church, Coventry. He was an Alderman of Coventry, and was Mayor of the town in 1589 and 1606. His will, dated 1 Sept. 1624, was proved 30 June 1628. An abstract is given in *Water's Genealogical Gleanings in England*, pp. 153 ff. In it he leaves a bequest to "my cousin John Horne," and appoints "my loving kinsman Reginald Horne gentleman," one of his overseers. A reference to the Horne pedigree, cited above, readily establishes the testator's relationship. Henry Sewall married, about 1575, Margaret eldest daughter of Avery Grazebrook of Middleton, Co. Warwick. She was born about 1556 and, dying in 1629 was buried in St. Michael's. In her will, dated 7 May 1628 she states that she is "aged 72 and upwards." The

will was not admitted to probate until 13 June 1632, though administration on her estate was granted 23 November 1629. An abstract is given in *Water's Gleanings*, p. 811.

Henry Sewall and Margaret (Grazebrook) his wife had issue :—

- i. HENRY SEWALL³ of Coventry, bapt. at St. Michael's 8 April 1576, emigrated to New England and died at Rowley, Mass., in 1657. He married Anne Hunt and was the ancestor of the New England Sewalls.
3. ii. RICHARD SEWALL of Nuneaton, d. 1638 ; of whom further.
- iii. ANNE SEWALL, mar. before 1 Sept. 1624, Anthony Power of Kenilworth, Co. Warwick, gent. He d. in 1632. Her will, dated 15 Jan'y, 1633, was proved 1 May following. Abstract in *Water's Gleanings*, p. 810.
- iv. MARGARET SEWALL, mar. Abraham Randall of Coventry, gent., who d. s. p. before 1646. Her will, dated 4 May 1646, was proved 22 May 1646. Abstract in *Water's Gleanings*, p. 1415.

3. RICHARD SEWALL³ (*Henry*,² *William*¹) of Nuneaton, Co. Warwick, died in the latter part of 1638 and letters of administration upon his estate were issued 2 January 1638/9. He married Mary daughter of John Dugdale of Shustoke, Co. Warwick, and Elizabeth Swynfen his wife, and sister of Sir William Dugdale (b. 12 Sept. 1605 : d. 10 Feb. 1685/6) the celebrated antiquary and author. She was baptized 7 December 1597, and died about 1648.

Richard Sewall and Mary (Dugdale) his wife had issue :—

- i. RICHARD SEWALL⁴ of Nuneaton, will dated 11 Aug. 1642, proved 29 April 1648 ; a surgeon in Cromwell's Regiment in the Civil War.
4. ii. HENRY SEWALL, Secretary of Maryland, d. 1665, of whom further.
- iii. SAMUEL SEWALL, a minor in 1648 ; living in 1664.
- iv. MARGARET SEWALL, b. 1615 ; d. young.
- v. MARY SEWALL, b. 1616 ; living in 1642 ; wife of — Dudley.
- vi. ELIZABETH SEWALL, b. 1608 ; mar. Edmund Seare, Notary Public ; living in 1648.
- vii. ANNE SEWALL, living in 1648.
- viii. PRUDENCE SEWALL, living in 1648.
- ix. SARAH SEWALL, living in 1648.

4. HENRY SEWALL⁴ (*Richard*,³ *Henry*,² *William*¹) was a minor and an apprentice in 1642, the date of his brother Richard's will. In 1652, then residing at Corley, Co. Warwick, he petitions the Committee for Compounding in regard to an estate in Corley, belonging to him, worth £30 a year which had been sequestered in 1644 for the delinquency of his elder brother Richard, now deceased. Richard however came in "upon Truro articles" with his horses, arms and "surgeons tools," and served in General Cromwell's regiment as a surgeon, finally dying in the service (Calendar of Committee for

Compounding, 2965). In 1661 Henry Sewall removed with his family to Maryland. A warrant for 2000 acres was issued, 12 Sept. 1661, to Henry Sewall of London, Esq. (Land Office, Lit. 4, fol. 615), and, 10 April, 1663, he entered rights for himself, his wife Jane, his children Nicholas, Elizabeth, and Anne, and three servants, and received a warrant for 300 acres (*ibid.* Lib. 5, fol. 251). 20 August 1661, "Henry Sewall formerly of London, England, but now of Calvert County, Maryland" was Commissioned Councillor, Secretary, and Judge of the probate of Wills for the Province (Md. Archives iii, 439), and he held these offices until his death. In his will, dated 25 April 1664, he states that he intends to sail for England during the current year, and at a Council Meeting held 6 Sept. 1664, "Henry Sewall Esq. being called was returned absent in England" (Md. Archives i, 509). His will was proved 17 April 1665. He married, in England, Jane, daughter of Vincent Lowe of Denby in Derbyshire, and sister of Col. Vincent Lowe, Member of Council and Surveyor General of Maryland. She married secondly, in 1666, Charles Calvert then Governor of Maryland, later the third Lord Baltimore.

Henry Sewall and Jane (Lowe) his wife had issue:—

5. i. MAJ. NICHOLAS SEWALL,⁵ b. 1655; d. 1737; of whom further.
 - ii. ELIZABETH SEWALL, mar. 1°. Dr. Jesse Wharton (d. 1676), 2°. Col. William D. Digges (d. 1697); she d. 1710.
 - iii. ANNE SEWALL, mar. 1°. Col. Benj. Rozer (d. 1681), 2°. Col. Edward Pye.
 - iv. MARY SEWALL, b. 1658, d. 12 March 1693/4; 1°. Col. William Chandler (d. 1685), 2°. 22 March 1687, Capt. George Brent of Woodstock, Stafford Co., Va.
 - v. JANE SEWALL, b. 1664; mar. Philip Calvert, brother of Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore.
5. MAJ. NICHOLAS SEWALL⁵, (*Henry*⁴, *Richard*³, *Henry*²) was born in England in 1655, and died in St. Mary's County, Md., in 1737. He came to Maryland with his father in 1661, when about six years old, and in a deposition, made in 1722, gives his age as 67 years (Chancery, Lib. P. L., fol. 758). On the 5th of February 1682 he and John Darnall were commissioned Secretaries of the province of Maryland and took the oath of office the same day (Md. Archives, xvii, 130-131). This office which carried with it a seat in the Council, Maj. Sewall held until 1689. In 1684 Lord Baltimore, being about to leave the Province for England, appointed his young son, Benedict Leonard Gov-

error of Maryland, but as the latter's extreme youth rendered the appointment purely formal, the real management of affairs was committed to a board of Deputy Governors. The commission to this board was issued in May 1684, and Maj. Nicholas Sewall was included in it (Md. Archives, xvii, 249). In consequence of the revolution of 1689 Maj. Sewall was obliged to vacate all his offices and retire to private life upon his estates in St. Mary's County. His will dated 16 April 1737, was proved 9 May following. He married Susanna, daughter of Col. William Burgess (b. 1622; d. 24 Jan. 1686/7) of Anne Arundel County, a member of the Council and one of the deputy Governors. Col. Burgess mentions in his will (dated 11 July 1685, and proved 19 Feb'y 1686/7) his daughter Susanna wife of Maj. Nicholas Sewall, and his grandchildren Charles and Jane Sewall (Baldwin's Calendar, ii, 12). Mrs. Susanna Sewall was living and joined her husband in a deed 11 Oct. 1705, but evidently died before him as she is not mentioned in his will.

Maj. Nicholas Sewall and Susanna (Burgess) his wife had issue :

6.
 - i. CHARLES SEWALL ⁶, d. 1742, of whom further.
 - ii. HENRY SEWALL, d. 1722; mar. Elizabeth (who mar. 2°. Philip Lee), and left issue.
 - iii. NICHOLAS SEWALL, d. unmar. 1732.
 - iv. CLEMENT SEWALL of Cecil Co., d. 1740; mar. Mary dau. of Col. John Smith of Calvert Co., and left issue.
 - v. JANE SEWALL, b. before 1685; d. 1761; mar. Clement Brooke (b. 1676; d. 1737) of Prince George's Co., and had issue.
 - vi. CLARE SEWALL, mar. 1°. Thomas Tasker (d. 1733), 2°. William Young (d. 1772). See *Magazine*, iv, 192.
 - vii. ELIZABETH SEWALL, d. 1752, mar. Capt. Peregrine Frisby (b. 1688, d. 1738) of Cecil Co.
 - viii. SUSANNA SEWALL, mar. George Douglas of Kent Co.
 - ix. MARY SEWALL, mar. 1°. William Frisby (b. 1699, d. 1724) brother of Capt. Peregrine Frisby (see above), 2°. 3 Sept. 1725, Dominick Carroll of Cecil Co.
 - x. ANNE SEWALL, d. 1789; mar. Joseph Douglas.
 - xi. SOPHIA SEWALL, mar. John Cooke of Prince George's Co.

6. CHARLES SEWALL ⁶, (*Nicholas* ⁵, *Henry* ⁴, *Richard* ³) was born before 1685, since he is named in the will of his grandfather Col. William Burgess. He was doubtless named for his father's stepfather, Charles Lord Baltimore. He lived at Eltonhead Manor, St. Mary's County. His will, dated 8 August 1741, was proved 27 April 1742. Charles Sewall married, after 1711, Eleanor widow of John Tasker of Calvert County, and daughter of Col. Thomas Brooke of Brookfield, Prince George's County, a member of the Council

of Maryland and its President in 1720. Her first husband, John Tasker in his will dated 22 Sept. 1711 and proved 17 October following (Annapolis, Lit. 13, fol. 323) names his wife Eleanor and his minor son Thomas Tasker. Col. Thomas Brooke in his will dated 16 Nov. 1730 and proved 25 Jan'y following (Annapolis Lit. 20, fol. 125) mentions his "daughter Eleanor Sewall wife of Mr. Charles Sewall" and his eldest son Thomas Tasker. Charles Sewall of Eltonhead Manor and Eleanor (Brooke) his wife had issue :—

7.
 - i. NICHOLAS SEWALL⁷, d. 1798 ; of whom further.
 - ii. CHARLES SEWALL, mentioned 1741, in his father's will.
7. NICHOLAS SEWALL⁷, (*Charles*⁶, *Nicholas*⁵, *Henry*⁴) of Eltonhead Manor, died in 1798. In his will, dated 21 April 1797, proved 18 Dec. 1798, and recorded in St. Mary's County, he states that he resided at Eltonhead Manor, and mentions his sons Nicholas, Charles, and Robert, and his granddaughter Katharine Kirwan. His sons Nicholas and Robert are appointed executors. He had however several other children not named in his will, and these are given below, the information concerning them being derived from family sources. Nicholas Sewall married Mary daughter of Henry Darnall of Poplar Hill, Prince George's County, and Ann Talbot his wife. Her brother Robert Darnall, died without issue in 1803 and by will recorded in Prince George's County, left Poplar Hill, to his nephew Dr. Robert Sewall.
 Nicholas Sewall and Mary (Darnall) his wife had issue :—
 8.
 - i. NICHOLAS SEWALL⁸, d. 1813, of whom further.
 - ii. CHARLES SEWALL.
 - iii. DR. ROBERT SEWALL of Poplar Hill, Prince George's Co., d. in Washington D. C., 16 Dec. 1820. He mar. Mary (d. 23 July 1822) dau. of Wm. Brent of Richland, Stafford Co., Va., and had a large family. His daughter, Mary Brent Sewall (b. Sept. 1808 ; d. 1 Jan'y 1831) was the first wife of Philip Barton Key, but had no issue.
 - iv. HENRY SEWALL.
 - v. MARY SEWALL, d. 12 Jan'y 1791 ; mar. John Kirwan of Baltimore.
 - vi. SARAH SEWALL, mar. — Blake.
 - vii. CATHERINE SEWALL, d. s. p. 1807 ; second wife of William Digges.
 8. NICHOLAS SEWALL⁸, (*Nicholas*⁷, *Charles*⁶, *Nicholas*⁵) of Eltonhead Manor and Cedar Point, St. Mary's County, died in November or December 1813. His will, dated 18 November, proved 13 December, 1813, and recorded in St.

Mary's County, names his wife Mary, his children Henry L., Robert, Catherine, and Maria L. Sewall; and his brother Robert Sewall. His friends Raphael Neale and Lewis Ford are appointed executors. He married Mary (d. 1854) daughter of Edward and Ann (Hebb) Fenwick of St. Mary's County.

Nicholas Sewall and Mary (Fenwick) his wife had issue:—

- i. HENRY L. SEWALL⁹, d. unmarried,
- ii. ROBERT SEWALL, mar. — Herbert, and left two sons.
- iii. CATHERINE SEWALL, d. unmarried in Louisiana.
- iv. MARIA LAURA SEWALL, b. 7 June 1812; d. 10 Dec. 1897; mar. 25 April 1833, Philip Barton Key.

THE SEWALL ARMS.

An impression of a seal, in the possession of McHenry Howard, Esq., gives the arms of the Sewalls of Maryland as follows :

Arms. Sable, a chevron between three bees, argent.

Crest. A leopard's head affrontee.

The same arms, but with a bee volant for a crest, were borne by the New England branch of the family, and they are given in Hurd's engraved portrait of Rev. Joseph Sewall of Massachusetts in 1768. A writer in the American Quarterly Register for 1841 (p. 238) states that these arms have been handed down among the Sewalls of New England and Canada and, with a difference in the crest, among the Sewalls of the Southern States. This statement is borne out by the seal noted above. Burke's General Armory gives the same coat as the arms of Sewell of Newport, Isle of Wight, but the crest is an arm in armor holding an acorn. Another Sewell coat given in Burke is : Sable, a chevron between three butterflies argent.

MARYLAND GLEANINGS IN ENGLAND.

COMMUNICATED BY MR. LOTHROP WITHINGTON, 30 LITTLE RUSSELL ST., W.C.,
LONDON, INCLUDING UNPUBLISHED NOTES OF MR. HENRY F. WATERS.

JOHN WOOD, of Dorking, Surrey, Clerk. Will 28 October 1695; proved 6 March 1695/6. Messuage, Backside and Garden in the South Streete of Toune of Dorking in tenure of Edward Cleare of Dorking, aforesaid, Taylor, vnto wife Elizabeth for life,

then to my grandchild John Lucas, son of Henry Lucas of Newdigate, Surrey, yeoman: if he die before 21, to grandchild Mary Hollis, daughter of Stephen Hollis of Dorking, yeoman. To wife Elizabeth for life, use of goods, Brewing vessells, etc. if she remaine to live in my dwelling house. To daughter Jaue (wife of Francis Bowder of the City of London, Frame maker) for life, messuage, Barne, Buildings, garden and Orchard and six Acres of Arrable meadow, pasture or Woodland in Towue or Burrough of Reigate in West and boundes the Heathe there on south side of Street or way from Dorking towards Reigate in tenure of Charles Brinklow, also four Closes of Freehold Land in Westcott in parish of Dorking, called Great Furlong, little Furlonge, the Garden plott, and the Moore plott (six acres) in tenure of Stephen Hollis, but rents during life of said Francis Bowder her husband, to be taken for daughter Jane by friends Michael Jeale of Dorking, yeoman, Daniel Hall of Dorking, Cooper, Joseph Bothell of Dorking, chandler, William Bothell of Dorking, chandler, and Miles Dudley of Dorking, yeoman, and after death of daughter Jane, said messuage to Grandchildren, John Lucas, son of son in law John Lucas, and Mary Hollis, daughter of son in law Stephen Hollis, and said four Closes to son in law James Round of Maryland and Mary his wife, my daughter, and to the heirs of the body of the said Mary, in default to son in law William Round of Maryland and Martha his wife one other daughter of me the said John Wood, etc. and James Round and Mary to pay £20 to John Lucas and Mary Hollis at 21, etc. To Grandchildren one guinea each. To Cozen Daniel Netlefold the elder of Dorking 10s. To poor of Dorking 50s. To son in law Francis Bowder 5s. Residue to four sons in lawe, James Round, William Round, Stephen Hollis, and Henry Lucas executors. Witnesses: Ralph Arnold, Thomas Slater, Benjamin Ridge.

Archdeaconry of Surrey, Register 1695-1699
(no folio)

NOTE. By an error the article on Francis Scott Key in the June number was assigned to Clarence C. Wroth instead of Lawrence C. Wroth.
